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THE

# PROTESTANT REFORMATION IN FRANCE;

OR,

# HISTORY OF THE HUGONOTS.

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VOL. I.

CARDIDE CHATILLON. ADMIRAL COLIGNE. D'ANDELOT.

DRAWN BY T. WAGEMAN & ENGRAVED BY E. RADCLYFFE

WITH THE PERMISSION OF THE RIGHT HON. EARL AMHERST FROM THE ORIGINAL PICTURE AT ARDENTE

THE

# PROTESTANT REFORMATION

# IN FRANCE;

OR,

# HISTORY OF THE HUGONOTS.

BY THE AUTHOR OF

"FATHER DARCY," "EMILIA WYNDHAM," "OLD MEN'S TALES," &c.

37931

Deeds of great men still remind us,
We may make *our* lives sublime—
And departing leave behind us,
Footprints on the sands of time—

Footprints that perchance some other,
Struggling on life's stormy main—
Some forlorn and shipwrecked brother—
Seeing—may take heart again. LONGFELLOW.

VOL. I.

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LONDON:
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By Permission,

TO

HER GRACE THE DUCHESS OF SUTHERLAND,

NOT FOR

HER TALENTS, HER BEAUTY, HER NOBLE BIRTH, OR LOFTY STATION,

BUT BECAUSE

SHE IS GENEROUS, COMPASSIONATE, PIOUS, AND GOOD,

THIS ATTEMPT TO RELATE A SAD BUT INSTRUCTIVE STORY,

IS WITH MUCH RESPECT

DEDICATED.

# ADVERTISEMENT.

THE object of this unpretending Work has been to relate a domestic story not to undertake a political history,—to display the virtues, errors, sufferings, and experiences of individual men—rather than the affairs of Consistories or the intrigues of Cabinets—consequent upon the great struggle to diffuse the principles of the Reformed Religion in France.

The narration here presented to the reader terminates in the death of Charles IX.

It is my wish, if time be allowed me, to complete the subject by carrying down the history to the downfall of the Cause and Party at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. But whether I shall have power to attempt this is uncertain.

EASTBURY,
March, 1847.

# AUTHORITIES REFERRED TO.

It has been thought that this list, with the period at which the authors lived, and the side which they espoused, may prove acceptable to the general reader. I am fully sensible that many sources of information have been closed to me; but I have endeavoured, as far as lay in my power, to consult and compare the cotemporary historians upon both sides.

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I. Historians who, though leaning, from their Habits and Education, to the Catholic, may be justly considered as in the main impartial.

*De Thou.*—His history was, as every one knows, written originally in Latin. Born in 1553. His father, Christophle de Thou, was President of the Parliament of Paris. He was present himself at the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Died 1617.

*Garnier, Histoire de France.*—Born 1545. Attained considerable eminence in the profession of the law; appointed Councillor to Henry IV.; enjoyed great opportunities for consulting registers.

*Matthieu, Histoire de France sous Francis I., Henri II., François II., &c.*, and other works. Historiographer to Henry IV. Enjoyed much personal communication with that King; was educated among the Jesuits.

*Mézeray, Abrégé Chronologique de l'Histoire de France.*—Historiographer to Louis XIV. His freedom of speech, it is said, gave offence to Colbert. Died 1683.

II. Catholic Authorities.

*Davila, Guerre civile di Francia. Enrico Caterino Davila.*—Private Secretary to the Queen-Mother.

*Père Daniel, Hist. de France, from* 1316 *to* 1612.

*Péréfixe, Vie Henri le Grand.*—Son of the Maître d'Hôtel of Card. Richlieu, Preceptor to Louis XIV. Created Archbishop of Paris, 1664.

*Brantôme, Œuvres, Hommes Illustres, Femmes Illustres, Discours sur les Duels, &c.—Pierre de Bourdeille de.*—Born 1527. Knight of the Order of Malta; Gentleman of the Chamber to Charles IX.

*Castlenau de la Mauvissière, Mémoires de Michel de Castlenau.*—Five times Ambassador to England. Died 1592. His Memoirs, valuable in themselves, have been rendered doubly so by the Additions of Le Laboureur: born 1623. He was Prior of Juvigny and Commander of the Order of Saint Michael. His Additions are of the greatest authority.

*Tavannes, Mêmoires de.*—The celebrated high Catholic partisan. His Memoirs were compiled by his son.

*Montluc, Commentaires de.*—Celebrated General of the high Catholic party; notorious for his barbarity. Died 1577. At the age of 75 wrote his Commentaries.

*Marguerite de Valois, Mémoires de.*—Daughter of Henry II., wife of Henry of Navarre.

*De Nevers, Mémoires de.*

*Vieilleville, Mémoires de.*—Attached to the Queen-Mother, but esteemed of the moderate party. His Memoirs were compiled by his secretary, Carloix.

*Journelles de l'Estoile.*—Grand Auditor of the Chancery of Paris. Died 1611.

*Perronet de Chantonnay, Lettres de.*—Brother to the Cardinal Granvelle, Ambassador from the Court of Spain. Père Daniel, speaking of his Letters, says: "On voit par une lettre de la Royne-Mère ..... qu'un de ceux qui contribuoit le plus à allumer ce nouveau feu étoit Chantonnay, dont toute l'application étoit de travailler les chefs des parties à la Cour de France .... il étoit venu à bout de la rendre odieuse en Italie, par les invectives dont ses lettres étoient pleins, contre les mesnagemens de la Royne-Mère avec les Huguenots."

*Pasquier, Lettres de.*—Born 1528. Henry III. made him Advocate-General to the Chamber of Accounts.

*D'Ossat, Lettres de.*—Cardinal, cotemporary.

### III. Protestant Authorities.

*D'Aubigné, Histoire Universelle, Ibid. secrète.*—Theodore Agrippa d'Aubigné. Born 1550. Held several places under Henry IV. Disgraced for his caustic humour and plain speaking. Retired

to Geneva, where he died, 1630. His son it was who was father to Madame de Maintenon.

*Beza, Chroniques Ecclesiastiques.*—Theodore de Béza,—of whom it is unnecessary to speak, his history being briefly given in the ensuing pages.

*La Poplinière, Lancelot de Voësin, Seigneur de, Histoire de France enrichie de, &c, depuis l'an* 1550, *jusqu'à ce temps.* Printed 1581.—Fought upon the Protestant side during the civil wars. His testimony may be considered impartial in that he gave offence upon both sides; Died 1608.

*La Place, Commentaires de l'État de la Religion et de la République sous Henri II., François II., et Charles IX.—Pierre de.* Premier Pres. de la Cour des Aides. Killed at the St. Bartholomew. At the point of being massacred, he made his wife rise up, who had thrown herself, imploring mercy, at the feet of the murderer; and severely reproved his son, who, to save himself, had put a white cross in his cap.

*La Planche, Histoire de l'État de la France sous la Règne de François II.—Louis Regnier de.*—Calvinist, attached to the Maréchal de Montmorenci.

*Mémoires de Condé.*—First edition, 1565, was published by the Hugonots at Strasburg, with this title: "Recueil des Pièces Publiques des Édits et des Declarations, des Expeditions militaires et des Escrits politiques de la première guerre qui fût excité en France par les Guises." There are several other editions. The work is full of curious and interesting matter.

*La Noue, Mémoires de.*—La Noue, surnamed *bras de fer*, a celebrated Hugonot chief, and friend of the Admiral Coligny. Born 1531.

*Mergey, Mémoires de.*—Gentleman attached to the house of De la Rochfoucault. Present at the St. Bartholomew.

*Duplessis Mornay.—Mémoires et Correspondance de.*—The Mémoires written by his wife, who was widow of the young Feuquières. She escaped at the St. Bartholomew. He took little part in public life until a somewhat later date.

*De Bouillon, Mémoires de.*—The well known Duke of that name.

*Sully, Œconomies Royalles.*—Maximilian de Bethune, the well-known Duke of Sully. This is the original work from which the popular *Mémoires de Sulli* was compiled. They chiefly, however, refer to matters of a later date.

*Cayet Victor Palma, Chronologies Novennaire et Septennaire.*—I have only seen the first. He was attached to the Court of Navarre, and a friend of Queen Jeanne.

*Mémoires de l'Estat sous Charles IX.*

*Pérau, Abbé, Vie Coligny.*—From his collection of lives of eminent persons.

*Histoire de l'Édit de Nantes.*

*Discours Merveilleux de la Vie de Cath. de Medecis.*

MODERN AUTHORS TO WHOM I AM MUCH INDEBTED.

*Sismondi, Histoire des François.*

*Capefigue, Histoire de la Réforme en France.*—To this work I owe the extracts from the Archives de Simancas, Registres de l'Hôtel de Ville, MSS. de Béthune, &c. in the Bibliothèque du Roi, which I should have been unable to search out myself.

I have likewise looked at—

*Lacretelle, Guerres de la Religion.*

*Anquetil, Esprit de la Ligue.*

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The Wood-engravings given in the following Work are executed by Mr. G. MEASOM.

# THE REFORMATION IN FRANCE;

OR,

# A HISTORY OF THE HUGONOTS.

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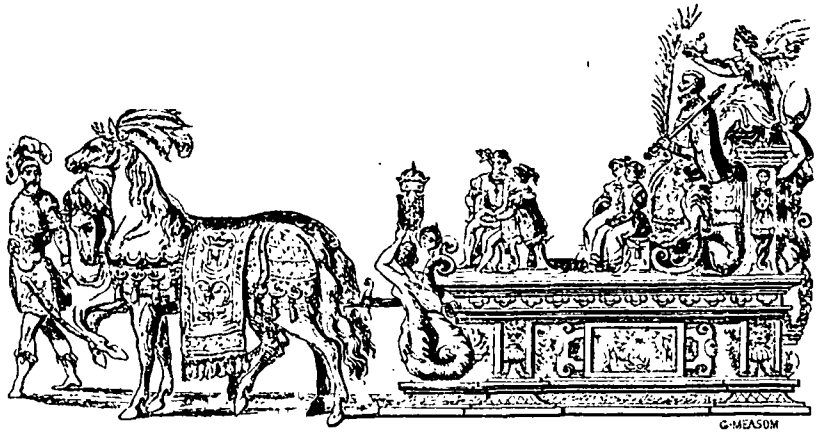
## BOOK I.

FROM THE RISE OF THE FIRST TROUBLES TO THE DEATH OF CHARLES IX.

"Ayant assez long temps apprehendé la pesanteur de l'histoire, et redouté ce labeur pour les rigoureuses loix qui lui sont imposées ; après avoir consideré à combien de sortes d'esprits doit satisfaire celui qui expose son talent sur un eschaffaut si eleyé, ou il a autant de juges que de lecteurs, n'estant possible de plaire à tous à la fois ; j'ai fait courage de sincérité et mon estat de remplacer les defauts de la suffisance par l'effort de ma fidelité. Sur ces gages acceptez la peinture d'un temps calamiteux, plein d'ambitieux desseins, de fidelitez, et infidelitez remarquables,— de prudences et temeritez,—de succès heureux ou malheureux,—de vertus relevées, et d'infames laschetez, — de mutations tant inesperées, qu'aisement vous tirerez de ces narrations, le vrai fruit de toute l'histoire, qui est, — de connoitre en la folie et foiblesse des hommes, le jugement et la force de Dieu."

D'Aubigné, *Introd. Hist. Universelle.*




CHAR DE HENRI II.

# INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

D'AUBIGNÉ, in that address to his children which he has prefixed to his Secret Memoirs, observes, that from the study of the lives of sovereigns and men of elevated stations little instruction for common life can be reaped, and that the actions of private men rather than those of princes, are the proper subjects for private men's meditations.

At first we are inclined to assent to the truth of this remark; but a little reflection will shew that human nature being in all conditions essentially the same, the history of men who have occupied the higher and more prominent walks in human society is calculated to present lessons to those occupying the humbler stations of life, and, indeed, upon a magnified scale, and in a

broader light, by setting forth the immensity of those evils which in their circumstances flow from the pride, the selfishness, the vanity, the caprice, or the intolerance, which we all carry more or less about in our own bosoms.

The melancholy history of the Reformed Religion in France teems with such lessons; and displays by fearful examples the deplorable effect produced by human ignorance, folly, and wickedness, upon human affairs.

The disastrous quarrels which occupied the middle of the 16th century, are those with which we first shall have to do; and the reigns of two young and hapless men, destined to the miserable pre-eminence of giving their names to this dark period, will occupy the first portion of the task which I have proposed to myself. The lesson conveyed by the story of their brief career,—of the efforts and the energies, the generous devotion to truth and liberty in some of those around them,—and the treachery, the cruelty, and the injustice of others, appears to me to be particularly instructive and interesting. There are certain periods of history when events seem to force themselves forward with a sort of resistless fatality, and man appears impelled in a given direction, passive as the straw which the torrent hurls onward; but, there are others, when, if ever, man stands forth as peculiarly the author of his own destiny. The effect of mere external causes is then insignificant; and we are able to trace the disasters which occur to their true sources—corruption of religion, decay of morals, and the unprincipled ambition, the insidious policy, and the vacillating temporising weakness of individuals. I think no one can read this story and not observe that the well-directed efforts of one just, virtuous, and courageous mind, had such been placed in authority, would have been sufficient to have arrested the progress of

evil. The occasion for pacifying warring passions and divided interests by firm, determined, and strictly equitable measures, occurs; selfishness and indifference pass it over. Again and again it recurs, to be again and again rejected; till the frame of society is shattered to its very foundation, and the kingdom becomes one scene of misrule, violence, and confusion.

If I live to continue this task, the second portion will convey a still more interesting lesson, and a still more important example. It will shew the power of *good*, and, during the brief reign of Henry the Great, what, in the short space of ten years, one enlightened and benevolent mind was able to effect, in healing the wounds of a distracted society, and restoring harmony and peace.

Many may be inclined to dispute the extent of the influence which is here attributed to the individual characters of the princes who were at this time invested with the supreme authority; and to allot to their ministers a very large share of the praise and the blame here bestowed upon the administration of affairs. That there is much of truth in this idea I do not mean to deny, and yet, it may be observed, that able and equitable monarchs find able and equitable ministers; and that round weak or wicked princes ministers as wicked will be sure to assemble, rendering the efforts of the wise and the good equally futile and vain. Both De l'Hôpital, under Catherine, and Villeroy and Jeannin, after the death of the great Henry, found their best efforts almost powerless; while it was the candour, sincerity, and reasonable and benevolent temper of the King he served, which afforded scope for the exertions of Sully.

The wretched vicissitudes to which a society is exposed whose welfare is founded upon the character of

a single individual,—though now, perhaps, a lesson little needed, — is not one among the least striking of those which this period of the History of France forces upon us.

Before proceeding to the account of the rise of that Reform in religion, and with it that emancipation of the human mind with which I have chiefly to do, I will briefly lay out, as in a map, before you the then position, geographical and political, of that country which is to be the scene of my relation.

France, before the beginning of the 16th century, had nearly assumed that compact form which she at present bears upon the map of Europe, though with frontiers considerably less extended. The persevering efforts of Louis the Eleventh had completed what his predecessors had, with varying success, attempted; and the King of France, from the ruler of a small territory, and the chief of a society of loosely-dependent feudatories, was become the acknowledged and absolute head of the second sovereignty of Europe.[1]

This object attained, the rage of foreign contest had succeeded to the struggle for domestic supremacy; the succeeding half century was occupied by external wars; and the French armies were led forward, to moisten with their blood the fair fields of Italy,—that "grave of Frenchmen."

The contentions of the rival houses of France and Austria, headed by men of widely differing, but equally rest-

[1] "La grande feodalité," observes Capefigue, "n'existoit plus;—on ne trouvait dans cette vieille France, autrefois divisée en grands fiefs que des tenanciers et des arriéres vassaux qui possedaient quelques villes, et de riches terres avec haute et basse juridiction." (The great feudal houses existed no longer—and in this ancient France, formerly divided into great fiefs, were only now to be found *tenanciers et arriéres vassaux* in possession of certain towns and large estates *avec haute et basse juridiction.*)

less genius, held Europe in arms; until the death of these two princes, the character of their successors, the disastrous defeats of St. Quentin and Gravelines—and, above all, the new sources of jealousy which presented themselves, led to a mutual desire for peace. A general pacification was signed at Cateau Cambressis, 3rd April, 1559, and animosity was succeeded by an understanding still more fatal. For a mighty revolution was preparing in Europe, and the long reign of darkness and superstition was approaching to a close.—"Arise,—shine, for thy light is come; and the glory of the Lord is arisen upon thee: for behold darkness shall cover the earth, and thick darkness the people. But the people who walked in darkness have seen a great light; and they which sat within the region of the shadow of death, on them hath the light shined."

With feelings such as these words inspire, was that dawn received which opened upon the heart and the intellect of man; as the thick darkness, in which he had for so many centuries been wandering, began slowly, but certainly to dissolve away. Clearer and better views of his relations to his Maker and to his fellow-creatures, presented themselves: they were contemplated with eagerness and embraced with enthusiasm. To diffuse them became the first of human obligations and duties, and all the relations of the Christian world were changed.

Society was soon divided into two distinct sections; on one hand might be seen enthusiasm and knowledge, animated by the most generous desire for truth, braving suffering and death, to enlarge the sphere of human thought and action—on the other, tyranny, fanaticism,—and that barbarous policy, which would keep man ignorant in order to render him subservient—struggling to detain him in his darkness and his fetters.

Then began leagues for the purposes of defence or oppression—leagues founded upon opinions only. Sovereigns and statesmen are seen uniting, not for aid against foreign aggression, nor even for the less justifiable object of foreign aggrandisement, but siding with strangers against their countrymen, for the purpose of stifling truth, and exterminating a large portion of their own subjects. The aggressions and cruelties of one party render union for mutual defence necessary to the other; men cease to hang together by the old ties of countries and families. Similarity of speculative views becomes the bond of association, and Europe is no longer divided by nations, but by opinions.

The boundaries of France, as settled by the treaty of Cateau, signed in 1559, were these:—On the north, Flanders; in the north-east the duchy of Lorrain and Bar; farther south, the eastern frontier extended to the Jura and the Alps, only broken in upon by the county of La Bresse, which belonged to Savoy. The southern limit was formed by the Mediterranean and the kingdom of Navarre, which, with its dependencies, extended nearly throughout the line of the Pyrenees: on the west the boundary was the ocean.

The whole of the territory included within these limits was subject to the King of France, with the exception of the county of Avignon, belonging to the Pope; and the little principality of Orange, which had been wrested from, but by right belonged to, the house of Nassau.

This fine kingdom, divided as it is into nearly equal portions by the Loire, included numerous provinces, inhabited by people of various races, and differing radically among themselves in domestic manners, modes of government, and forms of law.

The dominions held by the English alone in this coun-

try had at one time considerably exceeded those of the King of France himself; nor did they lose their last footing in the kingdom until 1558, when Calais, after having been two hundred years in their possession, surrendered to the Duke of Guise, a conquest the most popular of all his splendid military successes.

The defeat of Charles Duke of Burgundy at Nanci overthrew that other tremendous power which had once threatened to overshadow the crown of France; the provinces of Champagne, and Burgundy, and the important towns upon the Somme, which insured the possession of Picardy, formed the share which Louis the Eleventh contrived to appropriate from that great ruin: Flanders, a female fief, being, to his infinite mortification, carried by marriage into the house of Austria. The Kings of France, however, continued to receive homage for it as lords paramount, and never ceased to regard it as properly their own, though with no better foundation for their claim than a greedy desire of appropriation.

Brittany was acquired by the successive marriages of Charles the Eighth and Louis the Twelfth with its duchess Anne. Provence was part of the spoil of Renée of Anjou, and the Bourbonnais was resumed on the revolt of the Great Constable of Bourbon.

This slight sketch will suffice to shew how lately the consolidation of France had been effected.

The first great division which must be observed in contemplating this picture, is that great one already alluded to as formed by the Loire. Not only were the races, the manners, entirely distinct—but a completely different system pervaded the administration of the law. France, or that part of the country north of the Loire being governed by its traditionary *coûtumes*—Aquitaine, or the portion south of the Loire, by the old written Roman law. Ar-

dent, imaginative, vehement in all their passions, the inhabitants of the South of France, whether enlisted upon one side or the other of the great question now agitated, exceeded in the terrible energy of their contentions, those of the North. "The ardour of the Catholics,"[1] says one, "approached to that which we find in Spain." The various religious brotherhoods, and the worship of the Virgin and the Saints, maintained the zeal of the Catholic population at the highest pitch; while, upon the other hand, the old vestiges were not yet altogether extinct of the Albigenses. In the Cevennes, in the counties of Alby, Castres, Quercy, and Rouergue, the Reform was, as it were, in its native haunts. Inhabited by a simple pastoral people—by a *gentilhommerie* (to use the French word, which our *gentry* would ill translate), who lived retired in their donjon keeps, surrounded by their mountains and tufted woods—there revived principles of sincere religion, and severe morality, had been imbibed with passionate enthusiasm. These simple and unsophisticated men were disgusted with the corruption and the licentiousness of the Court and clergy; and they drank eagerly of that purer spring which was offered to their thirsting souls.

It must be further observed, in speaking of the administration of justice and the social regulations, that many of the large provinces in all parts of the kingdom still retained their own States, without which the *taille* could not be legally levied within their boundaries; and several their own Parliaments or independent courts of justice; bodies which, besides the faculty of administering the law, possessed an ill defined power of controlling, or at least of attempting to control, the imposition of it—a power which in reality, however, only amounted to a right

[1] Capefigue, Hist. de la Reforme.

of remonstrance; for the King, by simply appearing in his own person, or in that of one of the Princes of the blood, had the right to exact obedience.

The States-General of the kingdom (or assembly of the three great bodies of the Nobility, Clergy, and the Tiers État,) without whose consent it was, until the time of Francis the First, considered illegal for the King to augment the *taille*, or, in other words, to levy an additional tax upon his people,[1] had for the last two reigns, a space of forty years, fallen into disuse. They appear till then to have maintained their right to be consulted, chiefly through the weakness of the crown, which forced the King to have recourse to them in times of great difficulty; but as no fundamental law prescribed to the sovereign the summoning of this assembly at stated periods, not only did the long and uncertain space of time which often occurred between each meeting of the States-General accustom the King to govern by himself, but those traditionary forms were in danger of being lost, which serve so greatly to strengthen such assemblies: and that nationality was not attained by the kingdom at large, which the habitual union of their several representatives in one deliberative body would have in all probability effected.

Another custom tended to keep up the general disunion. The governments of the provinces were bestowed upon the leading families of the kingdom, and often came to be looked upon as inheritable rights by the houses that possessed them, and the son felt injured if his father's government were bestowed upon any other

[1] Mezeray, Francis the First, p. 236, speaking of the means the Chancellor Duprat took to raise money for the King, says, "il lui fournit de moyens, très mauvais, et tout à fait contraires aux anciens loix et coûtumes de France. Il lui persuada qu'il etoit en son pouvoir d'augmenter les tailles, et de faire de nouveaux impôts, sans attendre l'octroi des états, comme c'etait l'ordre ancien du Royaume."

than himself. Thus we see the government of Guyenne becoming a sort of property in the house of Navarre; and when Henry the Second, on conferring it upon Anthony of Bourbon, separates Languedoc from it, he is considered as committing a great injury upon that house. The same takes place when, upon Coligny resigning the government of Picardy, it is given away to Brissac, instead of to the Prince de Condé, on whom he wished it to be conferred.

The injurious system of distinct provinces subject to various laws and customs continued until the Revolution, when the whole territory of France, as is well known, was divided into Departments, differing, indeed, in extent and population; but all subjected to the same fiscal administration, and all enjoying one uniform system of jurisprudence.

Such was the political situation of the kingdom, when that convulsion which agitated all Europe, threatened to shake the slightly constructed edifice to pieces.

But before proceeding to trace the causes which led to these fatal consequences, it will be proper to cast an eye upon the position of Europe in general, at the moment this history commences.

It was arranged much in the following manner. The immense dominions once united under Charles the Fifth, were now divided between the two branches of the house of Austria. Ferdinand, his brother, retained the Empire with the Austrian dominions; while Philip the Second, his son, had inherited Spain, the Low Countries, Naples, and Milan. The King of Spain was looked upon as the most considerable monarch in Christendom. The house of Austria was Catholic, and Philip by temper, as well as circumstance, was regarded as the head of that party in Europe.

Germany was separated by the religious disputes into two great parties: the Protestant Princes, or those who adhered to the Confession of Augsburg, at this time were, the Elector Palatine, the Elector of Saxony, the two Dukes of Brunswick, the Duke of Mecklenburg, the Duke of Wurtemberg, the Marquis of Baden, the Prince of Henneberg, the Elector of Brandenburg, the Landgrave of Hesse, and the Duke of Pomerania; the rest of the empire headed by the Emperor as Archduke of Austria, was Catholic.

The Swiss Cantons were in the same manner divided between the religions: the majority being, however, Protestants, and not Lutheran but Calvinist.

The northern kingdoms of England, Denmark, and Sweden, were all reformed. Queen Elizabeth reigned in England—Christian the Third in Denmark—and Gustavus Vasa in Sweden. Scotland was torn by political and religious contests under the regency of Margaret of Guise.

The western and eastern extremities of Europe, Russia and the west of Ireland, were still looked upon as completely barbarous. Du Plessis Mornay talks of hesitating whether to engage in the wars against the "savages in Ireland." And D'Aubigné speaks of the Muscovites much in the terms we should of the Hottentots—remarking, however, "qu'il n'y a nation au monde absolument obéissant à son Prince que celui là."

The Turks had overrun Hungary. The Pope continued to preach and exhort to crusades against this power till the religious disputes called his attention to matters still more alarming; but it was yet the custom after a general pacification, for the young men of France to make a campaign or two in Hungary as an apprenticeship to the art

of war, then considered the necessary accomplishment of every gentleman.[1]

The rise of the new religion in France is at first obscure: a few German professors at the universities; a few converts in the provinces, under the name of *Sacramentaires*, are observed. Soon the love of enquiry becomes general, and includes persons of every age, sex, and condition; and more especially those distinguished for piety and learning throughout the kingdom. But these opinions, though embraced by multitudes, do not at first lead to the formation of a sect or party. Numbers who held them, as has been observed by Sir Walter Scott with regard to Scotland, continued without disturbance of their consciences to attend mass, and conform to the outward observances of the old religion; and the churches do not appear to have taken any consistency until the time of Calvin.

John Calvin was born at Noyon in Picardy, July 15th, 1509. His father was secretary to the Bishop of the place, and he, himself, destined to the ecclesiastical profession. He was sent to the University of Bourges, and there received instruction from Melchior Valmor, established at the place as Greek Professor by the care of Margaret of Valois, first Queen of Navarre of that name — whose zeal for learning and love of Reform are well known.

By Melchior Valmor, Calvin's mind was led to the perception of those great truths which Luther had opened to the world; and he adopted, not so much his religious doctrines, (for in these the two Great Reformers disagreed) as those principles of enquiry, and that method

[1] Mezeray, Hist. de France.

of searching to the foundation of opinions, which made their Reformation to differ so widely in its effects from all attempts of the same nature, which had preceded it.

For the Reformation of the sixteenth century must not be regarded as affecting religious opinions alone; the system of enquiry adopted awakened men's curiosity upon other subjects; and the Reformed will be found, not only searching and deciding for themselves in theological matters, but also exercising great freedom of speculation upon political and general topics.

We next hear of Calvin at the University of Paris, suggesting an harangue to Nicholas Copas, the rector, which by the offence it gave to the Sorbonne occasioned the first general persecution in France.[1] The preachers fled in all directions; Calvin into Poictou where he is represented as celebrating the Lord's supper—*La Cêne*—in caves and grottoes. He afterwards repaired to Nerac in Guyenne, where the Court of Navarre resided, and where Gerard Roussel had already established a small congregation. Thence he went to Geneva, where he ever afterwards resided, "From whence," says Mezeray, "he sent forth his disciples to preach his doctrine throughout France and the Low Countries, exposing them to all manner of sufferings, while he himself only hazarded his paper and ink."

With regard to the system, or rather various systems, adopted by the Government under this new state of things, it may be observed that Francis the First had hesitated some time with respect to the policy he should embrace in relation to the professors of the new opinions. Brantôme tells a story which illustrates the motives

[1] Mezeray, Hist. Francis the First.

which determined him as to whether he would grant or withhold liberty of conscience.

Francis was complaining to an Ambassador of the Pope of the conduct of his master, and threatening, if he were not soon contented, to protect the Lutheran religion in his kingdom as Henry of England had done, "*Sire*," said the Ambassador, "*Vous en serez narri le premier*, and would lose more than the Pope—a new religion demands a new Prince." Francis considered a little, embraced him, told him he was right, and loved him the better ever after, adds our author, for his good advice.

The story is trivial, but it is no doubt a fact that the liberal sentiments, as we should call them, held by the Reformed with respect to civil and political as well as religious matters, and their principle of rejecting authority and appealing to reason as the standard of truth, excited the jealousy of governments founded upon prescription: and the vehement hatred, the violent persecution they underwent, must be attributed—among the higher classes at least—quite as much to the desire to maintain arbitrary power unjustly acquired, as to religious fanaticism. We find Philip of Spain, while presiding at *autos-da-fé*, engaged in contesting their ancient liberties with the inhabitants of his kingdom of Arragon; the great Emperor Charles intent upon wresting from Protestant Germany those liberties of which she seemed to have constituted herself the champion; and Francis the First, while at war with the Emperor, entering into league with those very Protestant Princes, at the same time that he is endeavouring to extirpate by fire and sword the new religion in his own dominions.

It is true the close alliance that King maintained with the Protestant Princes of Germany, during his wars with

the Emperor, had inclined him, for a certain period, to look with favour upon those of the same persuasion in France; and the entreaties of his sister Margaret of Navarre, had at one time nearly determined him to send for Melancthon in order to arrange with his assistance the religious affairs of his kingdom. "But from this great danger," says a Catholic historian,[1] "he was saved by the remonstrances of the Cardinal de Tournon," an aged man of harsh and fiery temper, by whose persuasion a system of persecution was adopted—the fires were lighted throughout France, and in the space of a few years, hundreds of innocent and pious creatures of every age and sex were condemned to the flames.

The first martyr recorded by the French Calvinists in those lists wherein were carefully preserved, not only the names of those who suffered for religion, but also such judgments as they imagined befel their persecutors, (an idea of which may be acquired by looking at the first volume of the Histoire Universelle of D'Aubigné, and the lives of the Martyrs,) is Jean le Clerc, a wool-comber of Meaux, put to death with circumstances of abominable cruelty in the year 1525.[2]

The same year two Augustin monks are burned at Brussels.[3] Soon the list is crowded with victims, triumphing over death, and holding fast their faith amid inexpressible torments. Two instances, selected from D'Aubigné, shall serve as examples of the spirit in which these sacrifices were offered up to God.

One, the Demoiselle Michelle de Caignoncle, "*grande*

[1] Mézeray, Hist. de France.

[2] "Ténaillé vif les bras coupés, le nez arraché, et durant ce tourment il chanta du Pseaume 115, 'Leurs idoles sont d'or et d'argent.'"—D'Aubigné, Histoire Universelle, v. i. chap. 9. The Calvinists only reckon as martyrs those who could have escaped by accepting an offer of pardon or recantation

[3] Mézeray, Hist. de France.

*aumônière*"—a great bestower of alms. The poor, as she was being led to the stake, kept running along by her side, crying aloud, "Never, never, will you give us alms more." "*Si feroit encore une fois*," she said, and threw her slippers to a poor woman who was barefooted. And Thomas de St. Paul, burned in Paris, was taken out of the fire when it began to scorch him, and solicited to save his life by a recantation, but he refused, saying, "I am in the way to God; put me into the fire again."

But such anecdotes, though they picture the spirit of the times, will convey little idea of the real position of the Churches, or of the extent of the persecutions to which they were exposed. I will endeavour, as briefly as I can, to set this matter before you, so that the true rights of the question between the contending parties may at least be fairly understood, before the relation of their long quarrel in France is entered upon.

It is needless here to advert to the well-known history of the reform commenced in Germany, by Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, and those great men whose courage emancipated so large a portion of mankind from the fetters in which they had so long lain bound.

For, I repeat it, the Reformation of the sixteenth century is not to be considered only in the light of a reform in matters of religion; it was a vast revolution rather than a mere reformation; it was the grandest step taken in the progress of the modern world—in fact, the substitution of inquiry for authority.

It was, however, the glaring corruptions into which the Christian religion had fallen under the latter principle; the evident tendency of error—if not corrected by being brought to some other standard than that of tradition and mere human authority,—to multiply and increase upon

itself, which opened the eyes of thinking men to the absolute necessity of appealing to the reason of mankind as the standard by which to judge of truth. They now began to perceive, that it was by the conscientious exercise of the understanding with which their Creator had endowed them, that they should best comprehend the true intention and scope of that Divine revelation — that great and inestimable "Talent"—which had been delivered to the world.

The claims of the Pope as the successor of St. Peter, and those of the members of that great body, the clergy, to means of attaining to the Divine wisdom other than those with which all men are, according to their various degrees of intellect, intrusted, had been miserably contradicted by the fact. The judicious thinkers and the truly sincere and pious hearts in all classes, were disgusted and offended by the absurdities which had crept into the religious offices, and by the luxury, ignorance, indolence, and vice, which degraded the body of men devoted to their administration. The Bible once restored to light, men began to perceive the immense distance to which, under the leading of such guides, they had wandered from the simple wisdom and the ineffable goodness and purity of the true Christian doctrine; while the study, which the restoration of learning now made general, of the Greek and Hebrew languages, demonstrated, to the astonishment and indignation of the more instructed, how greatly the trust confided to the Church—namely, that of keeping unpolluted these sacred records of truth,—had been betrayed; that very copy of the Scriptures sanctioned by them, and upon the use of which—if used at all—they insisted—being deformed by numerous errors and inaccuracies, which it only required a common measure of erudition to correct.

Men of righteous hearts, of just views, — men who chose to listen to that faithful witness within, that voice of God in the conscience which in still whispers holds up to the heart the true model of good, — men of single views and habits unpolluted by the vices of their age,—looked round with grief and anguish upon the scene society presented. What licentiousness, what wickedness, what avarice, what ambition, what heartless indifference to right and wrong among the higher orders!—what ignorance, what blind superstition, what dreadful thirst for blood and cruelty among the lower! We who have tasted of the fruits of that blessed influx of light, as diffused through nearly four centuries,—who have by degrees been slowly but certainly advancing in knowledge, in justice, but, above all, in tenderness and humanity, ever since that great era began,—can form little conception of what *was*, and, perhaps, are scarcely grateful enough for what *is*.

But, if a just picture of those times could be laid before the imagination we might easily figure to ourselves the shock which the first comparison of the actual state of society, with all its corruption, its bloodthirstiness, its horrors, and its crimes, and the fair, spotless ideal as presented by the Gospel, must have occasioned.

We cannot wonder at the enthusiasm of love with which those who so long had lain in darkness, "fast bound in misery and iron," saluted the day-spring from on high; nor at the passionate self-devotion with which they laid down their lives in tortures too dreadful to imagine—hazarding house, home, reputation, estate, children, wife, everything the world holds dear, to forward what they felt to be the word of that great, and good, and pitying Master, who died to save them, and to whom they had been restored.

What matter the cavils about this sect or that—whether Calvinists, Lutherans, or Zwinglians,—they were *Christ's!* In one great principle they all agreed—to refer every dispute to the revealed word of God, and to use the best means which human erudition, human knowledge, human intellect could afford, to discover what was the true meaning of the revelation. They were neither of Paul nor Apollos. It is true this last great truth was not as yet fully revealed. It lay obscured among the lingering shadows diffused by the great antichrist, which could not all at once be dispersed. The errors with which they had so long been blinded still dimmed, in this respect, their sight. But great things they effected even in their earliest day; and their crowning triumph was, that they unlocked the gate—and, though not destined to reach the actual goal themselves, they left the glorious way of truth open and unobstructed for those who followed.

Their greatest victory remains as yet to be fully effected —the return of that ancient and noble Church to better and purer principles—she who so far has wandered in the wilderness, pursued by the old dragon, perverted knowledge. But the influences of the Reformation have not been lost even upon *her;* she is beginning to shudder at crime and cruelty committed in the name of God,—to abhor hypocrisy and sensuality though clothed in priestly garments, —to resist the attempt to limit, by fetters of man's invention the free exercise of those best endowments of man —his God-like reason and thirst for truth. Slowly but certainly, the mists are rolling away, and love and goodness are being restored to that great temple. "Then shall the sacrifice be pleasant, as of old, and thy God shall return to thee, oh Jacob!" Forgive me: the subject is dear to my heart. The errors of mistaken views—the darkness of ignorance and superstition—but above all, the

quarrels and dissensions of religion, make the heart bleed and the eyes drop water. And the theme, when once I have entered upon it, carries away my pen.

It was, then, among those two great divisions of society —the deeply learned, and the simple, child-like of heart, —that the truths of the Gospel, as taught by the Reformation, first diffused themselves in France.

Francis the First, as is well known, was fond of encouraging learning. He appears to have done this not merely in the vanity of a patron, but in the true spirit of art; though, certainly, not in that of an honest man. He loved to see the chairs in his universities filled with learned professors,—men well instructed in that new learning which had taken rise; and he loved and honoured art for its own sake, and artists for theirs.

Leonardo da Vinci died in the King's arms; Alemanni, Jean Michael Bruto, &c., received shelter at his court; while Rosso del Rosso and Francesco Primaticcio were restoring architecture and painting in his capital, and Benedetto Tagliacarne was intrusted with the education of his children. John Andrew Lascaris, one of the most eminent and learned among the illustrious Greek emigrants, was persuaded to take up his residence at Paris; where Erasmus was also invited. At the same time, the brothers Du Bellay, seconded by Guillaume Petit, the King's confessor, and Guillaume Coss, his physician, spared no pains in inducing all the best Greek and Hebrew scholars to take up their abode at the French universities.

But Francis, like many other men of vain, imaginative, and volatile characters, was not in the least prepared to stand by the consequences of his own measures. When he saw these learned professors with whose erudition he intended to honour his universities and inform his

people, presuming to gather the fruit of their advances in knowledge, by correcting their own opinions and the opinions of others upon matters of vital importance to them all—in short, presuming to pass those limits which the King had as yet not quite made up his mind as to whether they ought to be passed or not—for this was the whole of the matter—he was grievously offended; not so much at the new truths published, as at the presumption of those who dared to be the first to point them out. But further, when it was perceived that this gospel was spreading among the commoner sort—when the rural populations began to flock together in the caves of their mountains or in the silent and solitary forests, to celebrate the Lord's Supper according to their new persuasion of its signification, he was seized with that mixture of contempt, aversion, and anger, with which men are apt to regard opinions antagonistic to their own, when maintained by those whom they consider their inferiors in every possible respect.

The infection of such sentiments spread rapidly. The constituted bodies, the universities and the courts of law—or parliaments as they were called—with a few honourable exceptions, pursued these new opinions with a rage of animosity which we should be at a loss to conceive possible, did we not every day see—that jealousy of those who determine to advance in the pursuit of knowledge or science, is the invariable attribute of those who choose to sit still. The clergy, in the meantime, fairly aroused to their danger, and more especially the monastic orders, who felt that their very existence depended upon the maintenance of the church with all its corruptions entire, used every means which preaching, exhortation, or example could furnish, of exciting the popular mind.[c] And they succeeded in rousing it at length, to a pitch of savage

fanaticism, before the torrent of which all private defences were of no avail, all private security at an end, and the very authority of the government powerless.

The dreadful principle so long asserted, and so terribly and savagely carried out by the Catholic Church, that the opinions of the mind were to be punished by the agonies of the flesh, was upheld in all its unmitigated barbarity. And the destruction of human life and property—the horrible scenes of cruelty—the tortures, the butcherings, which ensued, speedily taught the champions of gospel truth, that for them there was no asylum upon earth to be found, unless such a one as by the arm of the flesh could be obtained and defended. They were absolutely *forced* into the contest, as much as is that man who walking peaceably in the streets is attacked by ruffians because he chooses his own path, driven into a corner, and obliged to draw and stand for life.

But the most signal wrong inflicted by the King upon his unoffending subjects resulted from the uncertainty and variable nature of his own measures with respect to the new opinions.

There is something more than usually shocking in these terrific executions, when commanded, or remitted, merely according to the suggestions or necessities of foreign policy. The barbarous violence of blind fanaticism has, at least, a certain honesty in it; but here we see a King—a father of his subjects, as he then more especially ought to have proved—for the sake of opposing a great rival, actually encouraging by his measures the growth of opinions, which he has no scruple within a short time afterwards to attempt to extirpate by fire and sword. The dreadful addition to that feeling of insecurity which trembled at every man's heart, produced by this impossibility of placing reliance upon the government, you ought in justice to

Janet, pinx. T. Wageman, del. E. Radclyffe, sc.

MARGARET DE VALOIS.

*Queen of Navarre*

ENGRAVED BY PERMISSION OF HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF SUTHERLAND

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN HIS POSSESSION.

London: Richard Bentley, 1847

the suffering party, to endeavour to realize to yourselves.

It cannot be doubted, also, that the rich harvest which the plunder of the Catholic Church had afforded to Henry the Eighth and others, very considerably tempted Francis at one time to embrace the Reform—an idea he afterwards abandoned for considerations as interested. In the meantime his accomplished sister Marguerite, Queen of Navarre, openly countenanced the new learning in her dominions, and the consequent opinions—while Francis hesitated as to the course most for his interest to pursue, spread rapidly through France.

Even at the Court—*C'était une mode que cette tendance à tout changer alors: les esprits les plus legers, les plus dissipés de la cour s'occupaient des doctrines religieuses; et Marôt, au milieu de ses jeux d'amour, de ses licencieuses ballades, mettait les Psaumes en vers, sur la traduction que lui en faisait le grave Vatable.*[1]

This translation was dedicated by him to Francis the First himself, in the following verses :—

> "Puisque voulez que je poursuive, O Sire,
> L'œuvre royal du Psautier commencé,
> Et que tous ceux aymant Dieu le désire
> D'y besogner m'y tient tout disposé."

But this apparent tranquillity was soon invaded. It was in 1525 that Jean le Clerc suffered at Meaux: that blow was aimed at the bourgeoisie and common people; the learned were attacked in the same year through Berquin, a Flemish gentleman of irreproachable character and manners, a friend of Erasmus, and an ardent encourager

[1] "The most volatile spirits of the court busied themselves with these new doctrines; and Marôt, in the midst of his love-songs, turned the Psalms into verse after the translation of Vatable."

of letters.[1] He had fallen under the displeasure of the monks. There were at this time in existence monks who publicly taught from the pulpit doctrines such as these—"*On a trouvé une nouvelle langue qu'on appelle grec* (*a new language* called Greek); it is by all possible means to be avoided. This language is the mother of all sorts of heresies: I see in the hands of numbers of persons a book written in this language; it is called the *New Testament;* it is a book filled with brambles and venomous snakes—*ronces et vipères.* As for the Hebrew language, all those who learn it become Jews immediately."[2]

Besides being guilty of encouraging enormities thus stigmatised, Berquin had ventured to say, "that he held it a gross superstition to invoke the Virgin in preference to the Holy Spirit." This opinion had evidently a somewhat reformed tendency. Accordingly, the Parliament of Paris issued its mandate to have the private papers of Berquin searched; and among them most of the theological works of Luther were found. Upon which an *arrêt* was issued, commanding all the books of Luther to be publicly burned in the *parvis* of the church of Notre Dame; and every one was ordered, upon pain of banishment and confiscation of goods, to give up all the heretical books he might possess. As for Berquin himself, he was condemned to have his tongue pierced, and to be burned alive; which sentence was executed. This execution was followed by that of fourteen other Reformers, who were burned alive, declaring their faith to the last.

But, the smoke of these sacrifices, to use the expression of Mézeray, got into the people's heads, and only excited them the more; and in the towns of Lyons, Langres,

[1] Sismondi, Hist. des Français. Capefigue, Hist. de la Reforme. Mézeray, Hist. de France.

[2] Conrad Heresbach had heard the sermon; he is quoted by Gailliard. See Sismondi Hist. des Français.

Bourges, Poictiers, Autun, Troyes, Issoudun, Rouen, Agen, Meaux, the reformed opinions had got hold of the popular mind. These professors of the Reform were at present known under the name of *Sacramentaires*, because they went farther than Luther by denying absolutely the doctrine of the real presence.

In Languedoc, the old sentiments of the Albigenses still obscurely existed. No severity had been powerful enough to extirpate that love of a purer religion for which this people had suffered so dreadfully. Peter Valdo, and those who had preached the consolations of Christ to the rural populations, were not yet forgotten, and though the new opinions differed in some points from their old traditions, they spread rapidly among them.

In Navarre, the religion began openly to be professed by the two court-chaplains of Queen Margaret, Bertaud and Conraut; and she openly countenanced the minister Quentin, who was one of the most daring of the innovators. She had her *Livres d'heures* translated into the French language, having retrenched from them many of the prayers to the Virgin and the Saints; and a book she published shortly afterwards, under the title of *Miroir de l'âme Pêcheresse*, contained many of the new opinions.

At this time, too, anonymous pamphlets, published without authority, swarmed through France, and the very walls and gateways of the churches and public edifices were covered with printed sheets advocating the same sentiments.

It was in the year 1535, that a scene took place in Paris, which holds up so striking and fearful a picture of the state of moral sentiment in those times, that, dreadful as it is, you must tolerate the relation in its details. If we are to read history to profit, it must not be with all its features softened down, to avoid offending a sickly susceptibility to painful impressions. It is the truth of which we

are in search—the reality of what life *was*—of what human beings *did*—and so shall we learn to judge justly of the force of prejudice, the misery of superstition and ignorance, and value as we ought to do enlarged views, equitable principles, and humane habits.

Charles the Fifth had been engaged in his enterprise against Algiers,—an expedition so popular in Europe, that even Francis dared not take advantage of his absence to attack him: the necessity of conciliating the Protestant Princes was therefore, for the present, less urgent than it had been—but it must have been under the encouragement afforded by the former good understanding, that some unknown person ventured upon the very imprudent measure (as Beza calls it) of affixing a placard to the gates of the King's palace, in which the doctrine of the real presence was denied, and in no very measured terms. "*Lequel*," says Beza, "*le mit en telle furie—ne laissant aussi passer cette occasion, ceux qui l'epioit dès long temps; comme le Grand Maître depuis le Connétable de Montmorenci, et le Cardinal de Tournon, qui se délibera de tout exterminer s'il eut été eu puissance.*"[1]

A very bad man, Jean Morin by name, was then lieutenant-criminel. Under his authority, immense numbers of men, women, and children were flung into prison. He was assisted in his search for these victims by the treachery of a man named Guainier, who was employed by the Protestants to keep watch for them while engaged in their secret religious meetings. A sufficient proof, if any were wanting, that these were no tumultuous assemblies, and that there was not the slightest disturbance of the public peace.

It was upon the 21st January, 1535, that, upon his return to Paris, the King ordered a solemn procession to be

[1] Beza, Hist. des Eglises.

made, in expiation of the offence offered to the Holy Sacrament by the unknown author of the placards.

Between the hours of eight and nine in the morning the procession began to issue from the Church of St. Geneviéve. We may imagine the long line of priests, dressed in their gorgeous garments, the streets strewed with leaves and flowers, and the windows crowded with spectators. First were borne the bodies and relics of all the Martyrs preserved in the different churches of Paris—Saint Germain, Saint Merry, Saint Marceau, Saint Geneviéve, Saint Opportune, Saint Landré, Saint Honoré; and all those relics of the Holy Chapel which had never been exposed to the public gaze since the grand and mournful day of the funeral of Saint Louis. Then followed a great number of cardinals in their scarlet robes; of bishops, abbés and other prelates, and all the members of the University of Paris, marching in regular order.[1] Then came Du Bellay, *Bishop*[2] of Paris, carrying in his hands the Holy Sacrament. Then the King, with his head bare, and bearing a large waxen taper in his hand; then the Queen; the Princes of the blood; two hundred gentlemen; the King's Guard; the Court of Parliament; the Maitres de Requêtes, and all the officers of justice. The ambassadors of the Emperor, of England, of Venice, &c., were also present. The procession, in grave order, proceeded thus through all the larger streets of Paris, and at the six principal *places* there was erected a *reposoir* — or, as is well known to those who have visited Catholic countries, a temporary altar adorned with flowers, crucifixes, candlesticks, &c. &c. Little children, dressed as angels, or holding the lamb of peace may usually be seen at these reposoirs; but here was

[1] Bouchet, as quoted by Sismondi, Hist. des Français.

[2] Du Bellay calls him *Evêque*.

now a terrific spectacle prepared. At each reposoir a scaffold and a pile had been arranged, "where were very cruelly burned six people, amid the marvellous shouts and rejoicings of the populace; so highly excited, that it was with difficulty they were prevented from snatching the victims out of the hands of the executioners and tearing them in pieces. But if the fury of these was great, the constancy of the martyrs was greater still."[1] The cruelty of the people in tearing these sufferers to atoms would have been tender mercy compared to the barbarity of the King. He had commanded that these victims should be fastened to a very lofty machine, the beam of which projecting, was, by means of pulleys, raised and lowered alternately, and as it rose and fell it plunged the martyr into a blazing pile below, and raised him up again in order to prolong his sufferings. This continued till the flames had destroyed the cords which bound him, and the body sank into the fire. This horrible machine was not set in motion till the procession arrived at the spot, that the King, Queen, and all present might enjoy the satisfaction of seeing the heretic tormented with the flames: during which time, the King, handing his torch to the Cardinal de Lorraine, joined his hands, and prostrating himself humbly, called down the blessing of heaven upon his people, and in this attitude remained until the agonies of the victim had terminated.

The procession ended where it began, at the church of St. Geneviève; the holy sacrament was replaced in the tabernacle, and the mass was sung by the Archbishop of Paris. After this there was a splendid dinner, at which the Archbishop received the King, the Peers, the Ambassadors, the Courts of Parliament, &c. &c. At the conclusion of which entertainment, the King addressing the

[1] Bouchet.

numerous guests, after expressing his grief at the execrable opinions that were being disseminated in his dominions, said, "that he had determined and commanded that the most rigorous punishments should be inflicted upon the delinquents; and he required all his subjects to denounce every one whom they should know to be adhering unto, or accomplices in such blasphemies, without regard to alliance, lineage, or friendship. As for himself, if his very arm were thus corrupted he would tear it from his body—and if his own children were found guilty of falling into such enormities, he would at once yield them up as a first sacrifice to God."

To give force to his words—the King ordered the executions of the sacramentaires to continue, and from that time the numbers who perished by the horrible punishment of the *balançoire* is appalling. It was on the 29th of January that the following edict was published:—

"For the extermination and extirpation of the Lutheran and other heresies, whose sectaries hide themselves (*caschent et latitent*) in secret places in various parts of our kingdom. For which cause we institute and command by a perpetual and irrevocable edict, that all those who shall conceal, after this present, such sectarians, so as to hinder the due execution of justice . . . . shall be punished with the like pains as the said sectarians would have been liable to, unless with all diligence they denounce such sectarians . . . . and likewise, all such as will denounce such sectarians to justice,—either the principals or those guilty of concealing such,—shall have the fourth part of the confiscations and fines from them received."

After reading edicts such as these we cease to wonder at the state of public morals; and can only marvel that any sentiment of honesty, good faith, or equity, could survive.

The remonstrances of the Protestant Princes of the League of Smalkalde, thunderstruck at the horrors exercised upon their unoffending brethren in France, had, however, some slight effect; the King modified his barbarous edicts so far, that in July he issued one remitting all the above pains and penalties to those who would abjure their faith, and return to the bosom of the Catholic Church. But this was but the mockery of mercy; very few in those days of earnest sincerity were found to profit by it—very few whom any inducement could tempt to tamper with their conscience, and abjure their religion.

Calvin had left France in 1534, and had afterwards taken refuge at Geneva, where, 1536, he published his celebrated book, "De l'Institution Chrétienne," which may be considered the foundation stone of the French churches. Until the publication of this book opinions had on many points varied, and each man had a good deal followed his own impressions in these matters; but from henceforward this book was considered as the standard of doctrine and discipline for that great portion of the Reform which adopted Calvin as their leader; and they from this time took the title of Calvinists.

The book was dedicated to the King, and was intended to defend the Reformed in France from the accusation, either of professing those wild doctrines of the anabaptists, which were incompatible with the constitution of civil society, or any of those seditious opinions which would disturb the public peace. Calvin told the King that he had begun this work solely with the intention of gathering into a certain defined order those elements of their faith which were calculated to form men to true piety. "But seeing to what a point the fury of some wicked ones hath arisen in this kingdom, so that sound doctrine is not tolerated in any place, I have deemed it would be

a profitable thing in this same work to present an institution to the faithful,—and to you a Confession—in order that you may learn what is that doctrine against which the furious vomit forth their rage, troubling your whole kingdom with fire and sword. Here I lay before you, the principles which every one cries out upon as only fit to be punished with imprisonment, exile, proscription, and the stake;—and which ought to be exterminated from the face of the earth. . . . We know that your mind is alienated from us . . . . but we believe that it would suffice to recover your favour if you would calmly read this Confession, which we desire to be the only defensive weapon we shall ever use against your Majesty. . . . But if the insinuations of our ill-wishers have so far filled your ears, that the accused are not even to be permitted to speak in their own defence; and if these furies are, with your sanction, to proceed against us with chains, outrages, gibbets, sword, and flames—we, like sheep destined to the slaughter, possessing our souls in patience, are prepared to undergo the last extremity, trusting in the helping hand of the mighty God, which, sooner or later, will most certainly appear armed, to snatch the miserable from destruction, and to punish evil-doers. Imploring in the meantime the King of kings to establish your throne in justice, and to make equity your footstool."[1]

After the publication of this work, which went through numerous large editions in a very short time, the authority of Calvin appears to have been such, that the French Reformed Church was entirely arranged upon his model—which was, in fact, strictly republican. The institution of bishops was completely done away with, the ministers were chosen by the congregations, and approved by certain elders set apart for this purpose, but without

[1] Pref. to Institut. Chrétienne.

imposition of hands; and the affairs of the society were managed by synods or assemblies, much in the way, I believe, appointed by John Knox in the Reformed Church of Scotland.

But the most heart-rending of the violences and cruelties exercised upon the Reformed in these terrible years of Francis the First remains to be related; it took place in the year 1544, and was exercised upon the most innocent and unoffending little flock that ever belonged to a society—this was the utter destruction of the unhappy Vaudois of Mirandol and Cabrières.

The peace of Crèpy, which it will be remembered finally settled the differences between the King of France and the Emperor, had now been signed, and no further need was there to keep terms with the German Protestants. The jealousy of that liberty of thought, which they had sagacity enough to perceive must end in a general advance in freedom, increased with years, and the two Princes agreed to support each other in that system of proscription against the professors of liberal opinions, which a few centuries ago had proved but too successful, but which now was as vain as it was unprincipled and cruel.

After the persecution and destruction of the Albigenses in the eleventh century—an event that will be well remembered by all in the least acquainted with the history of religion—the Vaudois had retired into their deep and secluded valleys of the Alps; and, amid the mountains of Saluces, had maintained themselves by an industry and economy which having taught the proprietors of the land their value; except an occasional persecution or so, they had remained unmolested.

Towards the end of the thirteenth century, the Lords of *Cental* and of *Rocca Sparviere* had acquired a little

desert tract of land situated in Provence, to the north of the Durance, and had there introduced a small colony of those same Vaudois who had succeeded so admirably in their cultivation of the *Hautes Alpes*. They had now been settled in this little mountainous district for nearly two hundred and seventy years, and had rendered it a perfect garden. They gathered abundance of corn, wine, oil, honey, and especially almonds ; and their breed of cattle upon the mountain of Leberon, was celebrated throughout the whole country. The following report of these simple and industrious people is still in existence, and was made to the King by Du Bellay, the then Governor of Piedmont :—

"Those, whom they accuse of being Vaudois, are a simple people who have taken these barren tracts, and cultivated them with the sweat of their brow. The whole country is now in pasture, or under the plough ; and none pay their *taille* to the King, or his *droits* to the Seigneur, more exactly than these people. It is true they are rarely seen at church, and when there they never kneel before the images of the saints; they never cause masses to be said for the dead, nor make the sign of the cross, nor take the holy water ; their prayers, likewise, are in the vulgar tongue—no bishops, no priests, but men whom they elect as simple ministers."

The district occupied by the Vaudois was about four leagues from Aix, and extended from the *Hautes Alpes* to the country of the Venaissin, being bounded upon the south by the Durance.

"I have consulted," says Capefigue, "the old archives of Provence ; I have traversed these deep valleys, and visited these now desert mountains, over which persecution passed like a consuming fire, and devoured all."[1].

[1] Capefigue, Hist. de la Réforme.

Upon the frontier of the county Venaissin and of Provence were situated two small towns surrounded with walls, *crenellés*, "such as are still to be seen on that road from Valence to Avignon, which is strewed with the ruins of the towns and castles of the Middle Ages; and where the bird of prey haunts the deserted abode of the ancient feudal lord."[1] The names of these towns were Mirandol and Cabrières. There were also about thirty villages scattered through this little country. "The great heresy of the 11th and 12th centuries," continues Capefigue, "that of the Vaudois and the Albigenses, had left the germ of its theory of simplicity and a pastoral life here."

When the rumours of a Reform in religion began to spread through the land these simple people, who were known in the country by the name of *barbes*, learnt with no little delight and exultation that these famous Protestants, about whom so much noise was made, professed very nearly the same doctrines of religion as those handed down to them by their fathers. They accordingly despatched some of their old men into Germany and Switzerland, entered into communication with the Reformers, and they ordered the Bible, lately translated into French by Peter Olivèton, and enriched with notes by Calvin, to be printed for their use at Neuchâtel.[2]

In 1540, a year of great persecution, when numbers had perished at the stake, a frightful edict had been obtained against the Vaudois, after nearly three centuries of undisturbed and peaceable possession. It ran thus:—"The villages of Mirandol, Cabrières, and les Aigues, and other places, the retreat and receptacle of heretics, shall be all destroyed; the houses razed to the ground, their caverns and other subterraneous retreats, which serve for

[1] Capefigue Hist. de la Réforme. [2] Beza, Hist. des Eglises.

places of refuge, demolished—their forests cut down, their fruit trees torn up by the roots, the principal chiefs executed, and the women and children exiled for perpetuity."[1]

The execution of this edict had, however, remained suspended; the report made by Du Bellay, and, above all, the powerful intercession of the Protestant German Princes, had induced the King, then about to recommence war with the Emperor, to lay aside for the present his dreadful purposes: by various letters-patent execution was postponed, and the Vaudois allowed time to conform, with a full remission for all past offences.

But now the fatal peace was ratified which allowed both Emperor and King to turn their murderous thoughts against their unoffending subjects. The fires were lighted in Belgium and in France, and the hapless Vaudois became once more objects of attention.[2]

Close upon the boundary of their little region, lay a Catholic population, irritated at, and jealous and envious of, the prosperity enjoyed by their more intelligent and industrious neighbours; and at no great distance from the town of Mirandol, and peopled by this ill-disposed population, were the estates of Jean Meynier, Baron d'Oppède, and Premier President of the Parliament of Provence.

The Archbishop of Arles, the Bishop of Aix, and various Abbés, Priors, and Canons of Provence, happened at

[1] De Thou.

[2] The King fell sick and was thought to be in danger; the prelates, more especially the old bigoted Cardinal de Touruon, got about him and persuaded him, that his sufferings were owing to the displeasure of God, on account of the lenient manner in which the Protestants had lately been treated. The Count de Grignan, at that time Governor of Provence, happened too, unfortunately, to be at court, and pointed out to the King, that while he was making miserable little executions of half a dozen or so of heretics at a time,—in this narrow, mountainous district they had been suffered to multiply to such an extent as to be enabled to levy fifteen thousand men at arms.—Sismondi, Hist. Français.

this time to be assembled at Avignon; and they, too, sent to solicit the King, as he valued the salvation of his soul, to carry into immediate execution the edict issued four years before against the Vaudois.

The King yielded; and on the 1st of January 1545, wrote letters to the Parliament of Provence, commanding them to carry the former edict into execution, in despite of the letters of remission issued by himself six months before, and exhorting them to provide in such a sort "that the country of Provence should be entirely desolated, and cleared of such seducers of the people."

The Baron d'Oppède, to whom these letters were addressed, was at this juncture not only President of the Parliament, but Lieutenant for M. de Grignan, in the government of Provence. He immediately proceeded, but with the greatest secresy, to make preparations for carrying the King's orders into immediate execution. He assembled six ensigns of infantry, composed of those fierce and savage soldiers who had served in the Italian wars: and to these were joined a company of cavalry, under the Capitaine Paulin, celebrated for his ferocity then, and who became still more notorious afterwards, under the title he had just received from the King, of Baron de la Garde.

It was upon the Sunday of Quasimodo, 12th April 1545, that the Baron d'Oppède, having made his preparations, read the King's letters to the assembled Parliament at Aix; and an *arrêt* was immediately passed that the provisions of the edict of 19th November, 1540, should be executed *selon sa forme et teneur*. Immediate orders were issued to the adjoining communes to furnish the expedition, the purpose of which was still concealed, with aid in men and provisions, while the Legate of the Pope at Avignon, despatched 1,000 foot-soldiers and

a few cannons, under the command of M. de Miolans, to take part in the enterprise.

Upon the 13th of April, the Barons d'Oppède and De la Garde began their march. They crossed the Durance, and entered the little district by Portuis. The next morning they arrived at the villages of Papin, La Motte, and Saint Martin; where the inhabitants, without the slightest warning being given, and while they were occupied in their usual labours, were surprised, the villages pillaged and burned, and every living soul that could be found massacred. The flames, that were seen all round the country, and, perhaps, some few of the wretched inhabitants who might have escaped, alarmed the inhabitants of Villelaure, Lourmarin, Gensson, Trezmines, and La Roque; they fled into the woods, carrying with them their children, and such of their property as they could save. — The soldiers ravaged the country after them, burned down their houses, trampled over their arable land, barked their fruit-trees, and committed every possible devastation. No opposition was in any place made by these poor terrified peasants; and Oppède, seeing there was no danger in dividing his forces, separated his soldiers into two columns; one of which followed the chain of the mountains, the other taking the river, so that the whole country was surrounded. Every village was deserted at their approach; but, as the inhabitants fled with their women, their little children, their aged, and their sick, numbers sinking with fatigue fell down upon the sides of the roads. All of whom, without exception, women or children, sick or aged, were butchered by the soldiers as they passed, with circumstances of sickening cruelty.

The time consumed with these barbarous executions was such that it was the 18th before Oppède arrived at Mirandol. He found the little town entirely deserted, one

living creature, a poor idiot, alone remained; he was fastened to an olive-tree, and shot. The 19th, the army entered the territories of the Pope, and presented themselves before Cabrières. Sixty men and thirty women remained in the town. They made some show of resistance; and their lives were promised them upon condition of their surrender. But, as soon as they had laid down their arms, it was settled that no faith was to be kept with heretics, and they were all massacred without exception. The fugitives who had before left the town were soon after discovered; and these are the words of De Thou, relating the treatment they met with.

"In all, it is said, within and without the town eight hundred were slaughtered. The women, by order of the President Oppède, were shut up in a barn, which happened to be full of straw. To this the soldiers set fire; and as the women endeavoured to escape, by throwing themselves out of the windows, they were driven back into the flames with pikes and forks. The troops then went on to La Coste; where the lord of the place had promised entire impunity to the inhabitants if they would bring their arms into the castle, and break down the walls in various places. The too credulous people did as they were desired; but, no sooner did the President arrive, than the suburbs were burned, the town was taken, and the inhabitants cut to pieces." . . . The women were treated with such barbarity, that many died under the tortures they suffered; and such of them as had taken refuge in *Mus* were discovered, and shared the same fate. Twenty-two villages were thus destroyed. Three thousand people had already perished. A number of fugitives still wandered in the woods and mountains; multitudes fell into the hands of Oppède, who had appointed commissioners to try those whom the sword had spared. Of these two hun-

dred and fifty-five were executed. Above six hundred of the finest young men had been selected by the Baron De la Garde, to labour at the oar in his galleys. At the end of a very few weeks two hundred of these were already dead, in consequence of the cruel treatment they received.

In order that not one of those who had taken refuge in the mountains might escape, upon the 24th of April the Parliament of Aix, and the Pontifical Government at Avignon, caused proclamation to be made, "That none should dare to offer refuge or assistance (*retraite, aide, ou secours*), nor furnish money or food to any of the Vaudois, upon pain of death." Whence it followed, as the historian of Provence, Bouche, relates, that men, women, and children, not being allowed to enter the towns and villages, were constrained to take shelter in the woods; where, there being no fruits,—it being the months of April and May,—they were obliged to feed upon green things, of which many of them died; others perishing of raging hunger. A very few of the more robust escaped to Geneva and Switzerland.[1]

So ends the melancholy story. I have not, like Capefigue, visited the place. I cannot tell whether the silence of desolation yet hangs over this devoted district, once resounding with the sounds of peaceful and cheerful industry. All I know is, that there is a blank in the map of France. One seeks in vain for the names of Mirandol, Cabrières, La Coste, or any of the smaller villages.[2]

[1] Sismondi, after De Thou, Bouche, Beza, &c.

[2] This massacre of an unoffending people excited the execrations of Europe, barbarous as in too many respects it then was. It was justified by a few of the clergy, and has been so also by the Catholic historian Ulloa; in general other historians have passed it over with as little notice as possible. Some years after the circumstances were recalled to the public recollection, by an attempt upon the part of Madame de

Dreadful as are the two instances I have described in detail of the spirit in which religious persecution was carried on at this time in France, I feel that I have altogether failed in giving the full truth of the dreadful picture revealed to us by the history of the times. I must refer the reader to the pages of D'Aubigné and Beza; where he will be able to realize the full extent to which the horrible system was carried out against these most unoffending martyrs.

Francis the First was succeeded by his son, Henry the Second; but the change afforded no remission for the unhappy Calvinists.

In his reign we find the confiscated property of those who suffered seized upon by the greedy courtiers, and his Majesty, in one instance, giving the confiscations of all "the Lutherans in Guienne, Limousin, Quercy, Perigord, Saintonge," to M. d'Apchon, brother of the Maréchal St. André.

It was in the beginning of his reign that the following scene, as described by Mezeray, took place:—

Cental, whose property had been ruined, to call the authors of the massacre to justice. The case was heard, but the malefactors were absolved; and thus, as remarks Sismondi, "after fifty audiences the Parliament and the clergy of France adopted and rendered themselves responsible for an action, that one should be but too happy to attribute to the effect of private jealousy, or vengeance alone."

Let not the lesson held out by these dreadful histories of persecution be perverted,—let us not be led by an indignation but too just and natural, to hate and to persecute in our turn. These things happened long ago,—it is wholesome and it is right to know what really *did* happen, and that actions such as these should be handed down in their true enormity,—at the same time let us not forget that it *was* a long time ago; and, above all, let us remember that it was *a persecution for opinion.* We are incapable of such barbarity at this time of day, for which let us thank God and the education of the times! But are we incapable of *persecuting for opinion* still? or how many of us are there, who as far as we can, and as we dare, lend ourselves to the furtherance of, and act in the same spirit? Let us lay to heart the maxim with which a French historian closes this dreadful narration: "Le plus noble service qu'on puisse rendre à l'humanité, c'est de propager le culte des idées moderées dans un monde où les orages des passions se succedent avec toute leur puissance de détruire et d'abimer."—Capefigue.

"The Court past almost the whole of this year (1549) in rejoicings and carousals. . . . The King and Queen made a pompous entry into Paris, after having been crowned at St. Denis. To this was added courses at the ring, tournaments, ballets, feasts; all those vain pastimes which ingenious idleness and opulence invent to dazzle the eyes of women and the people. . . . When the Court was weary of these diversions, the scene was changed, and piety succeeded to gallantry. A general procession was made to Nôtre Dame, at which the King assisted, intending to testify by this public act the zeal with which he resolved to maintain the religion of his ancestors; confirming it by the frightful punishment of multitudes of miserable Protestants, burned in the Place de Grève. They were fastened to beams with an iron chain and a pulley, and then successively raised and plunged again into an enormous fire. The King chose to feast his eyes with this tragical spectacle; and it is said that the horrible cries of one of his own *valets-de-chambre*, whom they tortured in this dreadful manner, struck his imagination so sensibly, that all his life after he was troubled by the recollection, which would often make him shudder, and turn pale, as the image suddenly recurred to his mind. It is certain that the people, seeing the constancy of these victims, on the one hand, and the scandalous dissoluteness of the Court upon the other, called this justice a persecution, and this punishment a martyrdom."[1]

On the 27th of January, 1551, the edict known as the Edict of Château Briand was published; it contained forty-six articles, and gave fresh vigour to the persecutors. In the preamble the King recapitulated all that the King,

[1] On the old engravings to be found in the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris, M. Capefigue remarks, that at these dreadful executions the windows are always represented as being filled with spectators, "dames et cavaliers," in full dress.

his father, had done to suppress heresy: "and still," it continues, "seeing no remedy, except by extreme care and diligence, and all sorts of rigorous proceedings, which ought to be put in force to overcome the wilfulness and the obstinacy of this wretched sect, and to purge and clear the kingdom," it gives fresh powers to the courts to proceed against the heretics. Severe punishment denounced against all who shall possess, or cause Lutheran books to be introduced into the kingdom. All those who shall venture to intercede in favour of heretics to be visited with the severest punishment. All those who shall send money to Geneva—*idem.* All the property of refugees to be confiscated; and, finally, to encourage informers, one-third of the goods of the condemned to be given in recompense to them.[1]

But fresh edicts and cruelties were alike as ineffectual as these which had preceded them. In spite of every exertion Protestant books were freely circulated, and the new opinions spread rapidly among classes of society which had till then been esteemed as effectually placed out of the reach of such contagion.

Catherine de Medicis, during the life-time of her husband, was surrounded by Calvinist attendants. Her favourite friend, Mad. de Crussol, Duchesse d'Usez, was known to be attached to their opinions; the Duchesse de Montpensier, and Renée, Duchess of Ferrara, daughter of Louis the Twelfth, openly favoured them.

Marguerite, Queen of Navarre, was now dead, and her daughter, Jeanne d'Albret,—married to Anthony of Bour-

[1] The year 1553 is celebrated among the Reformers as a year of martyrdoms. The Cardinal de Tournon, then Archbishop of Lyons, charged his Vicar to set the example. Five were burnt at Lyons upon the 16th of May, five others in the course of the year; others at Paris, Rouen, Evreux, Dijon, and Toulouse; and every individual judge, "se plaisoit," to use the words of Sismondi, "à inventer pour les supplicier de tourmens atroces."

bon, of the house of Vendôme, of whom more hereafter,—had succeeded her. Anthony was a convert to the Reform; and, the young Queen, forsaking the gay pleasures of her youth, in which she had once taken so much delight, had embraced it with all the fervour of her nature.

The wars between Henry the Second and Philip of Spain had been now carried on some time, with various success, and had given rise to actions of extraordinary courage and ability; but, with these we have nothing to do, except to observe that the increase of the Calvinist party—or, more properly, the courage with which the opinions began to be more openly professed—has been by many attributed to the effect of the disastrous battle of St. Quentin, obtained by the Count D'Egmont over the Constable de Montmorenci; and where the flower of the French nobility either perished or was taken prisoner.

About this period we find the first regular Calvinist churches instituted in Paris. Until then the Reformed had no regular places of assembly; but had met in secret at each other's houses, to read the Bible, and to sing psalms, and encourage each other in their pious dispositions. Numbers, who had been driven by persecution from their homes, wandered about France, receiving hospitality in secret from their friends; praying with them, and exhorting them to perseverance in the way of the Lord.

These pilgrims also visited Geneva and Lausanne, and were the means, on their return, of disseminating the views of Calvin, with his writings, throughout the kingdom; and they braved every danger, and suffered every torture, with the utmost constancy, rather than betray their friends. Mention is made of one who perished, torn in pieces upon the rack, rather than give up the name of the person from

whom he had received a prohibited book. There were no ministers as yet permanently appointed to administer the rites of religion; and the Reformed were often obliged to be contented to receive the sacrament of baptism, in particular, at the hands of a Catholic priest. At length, a gentleman of Maine, who had brought his wife to Paris, in order to shelter himself from the active persecution carried on in the provinces, having assembled a number of Calvinists at his house in the Pré aux Clercs, declared that he could not endure the thought of his new-born child being christened with what he, in his conscience, believed to be idolatrous ceremonies. Upon which it was determined to choose a minister. A young man of the name of La Rivière, of known courage and ability, was selected, and the Church of Paris was constituted, by the establishment of a consistory composed of elders and deacons, as nearly as possible, Beza says, "according to the example of the Church in the primitive times of the Apostles."

In the last year of Henry the Second, we find the Reformed holding assemblies in Paris, for religious purposes, in a house in the Rue St. Jacques; and the students of the University disputing with the monks of St. Victor for the possession of the Pré aux Clercs—a walk in the then neighbourhood of Paris. Here parties of the religious were accustomed to assemble in the fine evenings of April and May, and to sing the Psalms of Marôt.

The King and Queen of Navarre loved to pass their evenings in this pleasant field,[1] and to listen to these psalms, as sung in the open air, and repeated by choruses of three or four hundred of their persuasion. One night is especially commemorated, when, returning to their hotel, they were accompanied through the streets of Paris by a crowd of a thousand people, filling the air with their

[1] Hist. de la Révocation de l'Edict de Nantes.

rapturous religious melodies, to which even the Catholics were, many of them, thought to listen with a dangerous pleasure.

The Psalms, as translated by Marôt, had been indeed adopted with a sort of passion by people of all ranks and persuasions. Not only were they considered by the Calvinists as a very important part of religious worship, but the members of the most profligate court in the universe delighted to use them.

Each one had his favourite verse or verses, which he appropriated, as it were, to himself. Henry the Second, when out hunting, sang that beginning "*Comme on oit le cerf bruire.*" The Duchess de Valentinois took, "*Du fond de ma pensée;*" Anthony of Navarre, "*Revanche moi de ma querelle.*" And Catherine de Medicis was reminded long afterwards, by some of the unfortunate victims of her devious policy, how, under the afflictions of her unhappy marriage, she had particularly affectioned the 7th Psalm, and had loved to hear sung,

> Vers l'Eternel des oppressés le père
> Je m'en irai lui montrant l'impropre que l'on me fait.[1]

In the army, a habit of reading and enquiry had obtained. The negotiations of Cateau had followed the battle of St. Quentin, and here that secret understanding first took rise between the sovereigns and the Catholic party, both in France and Spain, which resulted in such cruel aggravation of misery. The Cardinals de Granvelle and Lorraine compared views and arranged systems of government, and Henry the Second was exhorted by Philip of Spain to persevere in the system of extermination already begun. The reader may be reminded, by the way, that the marriage of the beautiful Elizabeth, or Issabella de la Paix, as she was called, the heroine of many a touch-

[1] Lettres envoyés à la Reine, par un sien serviteur. Mém. de Condé.

ing story, to the gloomy tyrant, was the first sacrifice which sealed this new friendship. During the course of these negotiations it was, that the Spaniards gave the King to understand that heresy was spreading among his nobility, for that in the baggage of many eminent gentlemen taken at the battle of St. Quentin, especially that of the Seigneur d'Andelot, Colonel Général of the French infantry, books of a very suspicious tendency had been found. The King sent for D'Andelot, and commanded him to declare what he thought of the Mass. "I look upon it as a detestable profanation," cried he, with his usual daring. At which the King was so enraged, that he struck at him with his poignard.

Even in the courts of justice,—corrupted and venal as they had more than ever become under the regulations of this most profligate government—some few individuals were yet to be found, sincere and good enough to adopt opinions inconsistent with their interests, and to extend the shield of the law to protect innocence from power.

Against these, one of the last acts of this bad King—suggested as was universally believed by the Cardinal de Lorrain—was directed. This was the celebrated *Mercuriale* of the 13th June, 1559.

We have said that the Reformed opinions had made their way into the courts of justice, and that some few among the most eminent members of the Parliament of Paris, moved either by religious conviction, or by the pity and disgust which these dreadful executions excited, had endeavoured, by various legal expedients, to impede the course of proceedings, and shelter the unfortunate victims.

The proceedings of the great body of jurisprudence, called generally the Parliament of Paris, had of late ceased to be uniform. What was called *La Grande Chambre* still continued to burn heretics without mercy;

while the one denominated *La Tournelle*, presided by Séguier and Harlay, was more inclined to shew indulgence. Great and successful opposition had likewise been made to the establishment of the Inquisition under the Spanish and Roman form in France; but Gilles le Maître, premier President, had secretly denounced to the King those whom he suspected of holding the more liberal opinions; and at a secret council, held at St. Germain, had accused the Protestants, "*non seulement d'être blasphêmes contre Dieu,*" but added, that wherever their doctrines were preached, the Royal authority was shaken ... ... and if they would not fall into a Republic, like that of Switzerland, a decisive blow must be struck."

The resolution taken, under the influence of the Duke de Guise—some say of the Cardinal de Lorraine—was to get rid, once for all, of the Protestants, and for this purpose to begin with the Courts of Parliament.

It had been a custom established by Louis the Twelfth, for the Kings of France, on certain Wednesdays, to visit the Courts of Justice, when all the members were assembled, in order to regulate, or censure their proceedings. From the day of the week (*Mercredi*) upon which these visitations were made, they were called *Mercuriales.*[1]

The King accordingly came down to the Parliament attended by a numerous court. The debates had commenced; they were upon the subject of religious persecution, and how far it might be desirable to execute to the letter the dreadful provisions of the Edict of Chateaubriand. The King, affecting a desire to be instructed, commanded that the business should proceed, and requested that he might hear the undisguised sentiments of every one present, so as to profit by their advice.

Christopher de Thou (father of the historian), was too

[1] The word has become proverbial in France.

much upon his guard to be taken in by these professions; but Anne du Bourg, the Counsellor du Faur, and one or two others, either unaware of the King's intentions, or despising in such a cause all consequences, spoke openly in favour of liberty of conscience, and represented in lively colours the guilt and the mischief of perseverance in the barbarous persecutions now carrying on.

The King listened long enough to make himself master of the sentiments of these generous men, and then rising to leave the hall of Parliament, commanded the Constable de Montmorency immediately to arrest and throw them into prison, swearing that he would see them burned "before his own eyes."

The Protestants regarded it as a divine judgement upon this treachery, that three short weeks afterwards, in the midst of the rejoicings of his magnificent court upon occasion of the marriage of his daughter Elizabeth to the King of Spain, and of his sister Renée with the Duke of Savoy; the King tilting in a tournament, was struck with a lance in the eye by the Count de Montgommeri, borne down from his horse, taken up insensible, and carried to his chamber; where he languished some days, but never spoke more.

It remains only to give an idea of the state of manners and morals at the time this narrative begins; those of the court shall be represented briefly in the words of Mezeray. "Almost every vice which tends to the ruin of great states, and which draws down the anger of Heaven, reigned in this court. Luxury, immodesty, libertinism, blasphemy, and that impious curiosity which seeks the secrets of futurity in the detestable illusions of magic."

It must be added that the clergy were haughty, luxurious, and profligate, and the lower orders among them so ignorant that many could not even read. It was a proverb among the common people, "He is as ignorant as a priest!"

The Courts of Justice were corrupted and venal to the last degree. Among the nobility and gentry some lofty sentiments of chivalrous honour could not redeem the brutality that pervaded their general habits; it is sufficient to read Brantôme's "*Discours sur les Duels*," to be convinced of this. Good order, decency, and virtue, seemed almost confined to the Reformed, who, in these early days, were distinguished for almost every moral and intellectual quality—a distinction, long before these disastrous quarrels came to a conclusion, almost entirely lost.

# CHAPTER I.

GENEALOGY, BIRTH, AND EARLY EDUCATION OF HENRY OF NAVARRE.

As the man whose genius and virtues exercised the highest influence upon the fortunes of France, rather than out of regard to the dignity of the station he occupied, I have selected Henry of Navarre—the popular idol of the French monarchy—as the principal figure in the historic picture I am about to attempt. Though it will be necessary to my purpose to enter into the details of events which took place during those years in which he was too young to take any leading part—yet I think it will render what follows better understood, if, before proceeding to describe the characters of those who more especially influenced these years, I call briefly to your recollection his family and alliances; and describe the first childish traits of one, destined to take so eminent a part in the distracted history of his country.

Henry the Fourth, surnamed the Great, King of France and Navarre, was born at Pau, in Bearn, on the 13th November, 1553.

He was the third son of Anthony of Bourbon, second Duke of Vendôme, and afterwards King of Navarre, and of Jeanne d'Albret, heiress of that kingdom.

Anthony of Bourbon was descended in direct male line from Robert Count de Clermont, fifth son of St. Louis:

this Robert married Beatrice, daughter of John of Burgundy Baron de Bourbon, and on account of his marriage adopted the name of Bourbon, taking care, however, to retain the arms of his own family, namely, those of France. To this wise precaution his descendants, it was thought, were chiefly indebted for the place they were able to maintain among the Princes of the blood, as well as for the possession of that crown, which, after a succession of nine generations, at length became their own.

The house of Bourbon makes a distinguished figure in French history. "Its economy in the preservation and extension of its possessions, the splendid alliances it was ambitious to form, and above all, its rare piety and singular benevolence, raised it high in the opinion of the common people: so that seeing it always highly connected, rich, powerful, and prudent, a persuasion was generally current that this branch would finally overtop the elder ones, and at length inherit the crown."[1]

The motto of *Espoir*, which the family had adopted, makes it probable that they themselves cherished the ambitious hope.

But a heavy blow had obscured the prosperity of this house — the ruin, and subsequent defection of the great Constable of Bourbon. The iniquitous sentence which deprived him of his possessions, and the subsequent revolt into which he was driven in his despair, sank his family at once, both in power and reputation; and Charles first Duke of Vendôme, who remained head of the house, in order to escape the odium with which he found all of his name regarded, deemed it expedient to retire from court

[1] Pérefixe, Hist. de Henri le Grand.

and confine himself to a private station; and, as the court was then the sole fountain from which not only honours, but wealth could flow, he soon found himself deprived of all influence, and miserably poor.

This Charles of Bourbon had been created Duke of Vendôme, by Francis the First, the name and large estates belonging to it having been obtained by the marriage of his ancestor, John of Bourbon Count de la Marche, with Catherine, sister and heiress of Bouchard, last Count de Vendôme of that name.[1] The territory which conferred the title is situated in la Beauce, and makes part of the present department of Loire et Cher.

This Charles had seven sons, of whom five attained to manhood. Anthony inherited the duchy, and was the King of Navarre; Francis Count d'Enghien died unmarried. Charles was a Cardinal and Archbishop of Rouen, and is known in history as the old Cardinal de Bourbon. John died unmarried, and Louis, the youngest, was the brave and unfortunate Louis Prince de Condé.

On the mother's side, the descent of Henry is remarkable for the distinguished talents of the three female ancestors who immediately preceded him. His great grandmother was Catherine of Foix, sister and heiress of Gaston Phœbus Count de Foix, and King of Navarre; she carried the kingdom to Jean, Lord of Albret, and was remarkable for her energy, talents, and courage. Henry d'Albret, her son, married Margaret of Valois Duchess Dowager of Alençon, the beloved sister of Francis the First; she whom he fondly called *Sa Mignonne;* who attended him in his prison at Madrid, and chiefly negotiated and effected his liberation. She was a woman of extreme beauty, and

[1] Péréfixe, Hist. de Henri le Grand.

her talents for literature are well known: according to Brantôme, she amused herself by writing in her litter, during her various journeys, those novels of the Queen of Navarre still to be found in libraries: they are not exempt from the grossness of that age, though she herself was a woman of singular modesty and virtue. Among other things, she wrote, as has been before mentioned, "The Mirror of a Sinful Soul;" it was a religious poem, and was censured by the Sorbonne, as containing certain of the heretical opinions then spreading through society. Margaret was a supporter of the Reformed opinions, and under her protection, not only were churches established at Nerac, where her court usually resided, but she patronised many of those learned professors who introduced the new doctrines into so many of the French universities. It has been doubted, whether the protection she gave to the Reform was founded upon religious conviction, or merely upon well understood principles of toleration. If the latter, Bayle remarks, it would shew great originality and strength of thinking for the age.

Of her four children by Henry of D'Albret, one only survived her, Jeanne, the wife of Anthony of Bourbon, and mother of Henry the Great. She was called "*La mignonne des rois,*" equally beloved by her father, and by the Great Francis. Her mother appointed Nicholas Bourbon, an excellent Greek scholar, to be her tutor. As she advanced in life, Jeanne displayed a character remarkable for firmness and energy, though tinctured with the austerity of that religion, to which, after the first years of her life, she was so earnestly devoted. To the careful and judicious education which she gave her son, he doubtless owed many of his great and endearing qualities.

Jeanne had been married at eleven years old, without the consent of her father, to the Duke of Cleves. It was at this marriage that the little bride, entirely weighed down by her jewels and ornaments, was unable to walk a step; and that Francis, to the infinite mortification of the great Constable de Montmorenci, commanded him to take her in his arms, and to carry her to church. This marriage was afterwards dissolved; and in October, 1548, she was married, at Moulins, to Anthony de Bourbon.

The kingdom of Navarre at this time consisted only of *La basse Navarre*,[1] or that part of the kingdom which lies on the northern side of the Pyrenees, the counties of Bearn, D'Albret, De Foix, D'Armagnac, and some other great seignories; *La haute Navarre*, or that portion of the kingdom which lay beyond the Pyrenees, containing the ancient capital of Pampeluna, and the tombs of its kings, had been most unjustly wrested from Jean d'Albret by Ferdinand of Arragon. The whole policy of the succeeding kings had been directed to the recovery of this, the most valuable part of their possessions; and great use was made, as we shall see, of this circumstance, in affairs most vital to the interests of France.

Henry was the third son of his parents; the two elder brothers having died infants.[2]

The summer of that year in which Henry was born had been passed by his mother in Picardy, which was her husband's government; but Henri d'Albret wrote to his daughter to entreat her to join him at Pau before her de-

[1] Pérefixe, Hist. de Henri le Grand.

[2] Of one the governess was *frileuse*, and kept him so warm as to kill him. The other fell on the floor, as his nurse and a footman were throwing him from one to another, and in consequence fell into a lingering distemper, of which he died.

livery; desiring himself to have the care of this child, having, as he said, a secret presentiment that it would prove the means of avenging his injuries on Spain. The Princess, therefore, with more than ordinary courage, leaving the camp at Compeigne on the 16th of November, crossed France, to the foot of the Pyrenees, and joined her father upon the 4th December, nine days before her son was born.

It is said that Henri d'Albret having about this time made his will, which the Princess was anxious to see, suspecting that it was made in favour of a lady that *le bon homme avoit aimé*, he promised her that he would put it into her hands if she would sing him a song during her travail. "In order," said he, "that you may not give me a whimpering whining boy." Jeanne had the resolution to keep her word, and, on her father entering the room, sang a hymn in her native Bearnais, beginning, "*Notre dame du tête du pou; adjuda mi in questa houre.*" [1]

As soon as he was born, Henri handed his will in a box of gold to his daughter, saying, "*Ma fille voilà ce qui est à vous, et ceci est à moi,*" wrapped the infant in the skirt of his robe, and carried it to his own apartments; here he rubbed the little lips with a clove of garlic, and made him suck a drop of wine out of a cup of gold, with the idea of making his constitution vigorous and masculine.

The 6th of January in the ensuing year, Henry was baptized at Pau. Silver-gilt fonts were made expressly for the ceremony; his godfathers being Henry the Second, King of France, and Henry, King of Navarre; his godmother was Madame Claude de France, afterwards Duchess of Lorraine.

He was a delicate infant, and reared with considerable

[1] Bayle.

difficulty, though few in manhood ever possessed a more healthy and vigorous frame. As soon as he was weaned he was put into the hands of Susan of Bourbon, wife of John d'Albret, Baron de Miosses, who brought him up in the castle of Coarasses in Bearn, situated in the midst of rocks and mountains. Here he was reared, in a manner very unusual for the heir of kingdoms. "His grandfather," says Péréfixe,[1] "believing that in an over-refined and delicate body there rarely exists a manly or generous spirit, ordered him to be educated without any of that pernicious attention common to children of his rank. His diet was beef, bread, garlic, and cheese; his dress such as was commonly worn by other children of his country; he was allowed to run about the mountains bare-headed, bare-footed, exposed to cold, heat, or rain. He had few toys, and no flattery.

Matthieu, in his quaint manner, thus describes his early breeding:—"His court was in the village; his nurse a country woman; his exercise in the fields; his walks among rocks—his language Bearnais—his appetite for necessary things—his repugnance for superfluities—enduring with the children of the village the injuries of the air, and the indispositions of the seasons—whilst the equality of age, and the liberty of that life, left the difference of condition suspended."

Mad. de Maintenon[2] remarks upon the pride, cold-heartedness, and indifference which may be observed, even in their earliest infancy among the children of princes. The variety of their attendants, the servile observance of those around them, and the exemption in which they are allowed to live, from the free speech, riotous sports, contests of strength, and endurance of privation, proper

[1] Hist. Henri le Grand. [2] Lettres à Mad. des Ursins.

to children of their own age, must tend to cramp the growth of the affections and foster such sentiments.—How far the joyous simplicity of Henry's early years might influence the character, one experiment is not sufficient to determine: yet it is remarkable that the qualities which endeared him to all mankind are precisely those which such an infancy seems calculated to produce. Cordial affections—a heart unstained by selfishness—and the most generous sympathy with the joys and sorrows of every human being.

To this system of education he was perhaps also indebted for that excellent constitution and those good habits to which De Thou attributes, in great measure, the success of his undertakings. In the dedication of his History, he tells Henry—"The good fortune which attended your arms has been maintained by your vigilance, your indefatigable labours, your patience in enduring cold and heat, and by the habit of easily reducing yourself to the most simple food which time and occasion might present—assiduous in the trenches, not interrupting the fatigues of the day, even by the repose of the night—marching continually in rain and frost—sleeping little, and taking as it suited you, now on horseback, now wrapt up in a cloak, without injury to your health, that repose which business had interrupted."

Henri d'Albret died at Hagetnau, in Bearn, the 25th May, 1555; and his fancy fondly dwelling upon the lost possessions of his house, he ordered by his will that his body should be carried to Pampeluna, and be placed in the sepulchre of his ancestors; but until that could be done, his remains were deposited at Lescars, in Bearn. At the time of his death, Jeanne, with her husband, Anthony of Bourbon, was at the Court of France, and, with great diffi-

culty, obtained permission to repair to the kingdom which she had inherited; for Henry the Second was strongly tempted to seize upon this opportunity and annex the lower Navarre to the kingdom of France, under pretext that everything north of the Pyrenees formed part of his possessions. The States of Navarre, however, having been assembled, they protested so strongly against the annexation, that Henry, who was then still engaged in the war with Spain, desisted, fearing that a perseverance in this injustice might drive the little kingdom to shelter itself by an alliance with his adversary. He, however, evinced his mortification at the failure of his scheme by separating Languedoc from the Government of Guienne,—which had been held by Henry d'Albret, and was usually conferred upon the Kings of Navarre,—before he suffered Anthony to succeed to it.

In 1557, the King and Queen of Navarre returned to the Court of France, bringing with them the young Henry, then under five years old. At that age he was remarkable for his sprightliness and beauty. When he was presented to Henry the Second, the King asked him whether he would be his son. "That is my father," said the little Prince, in his native Bearnais, pointing to the King of Navarre. "Well," said the King, "if you will not be my son, will you be my son-in-law?" "Oh! with all my heart," said the child; and from that time his marriage with the Princess Margaret was thought of.[1]

From that time until the year 1562, he continued at the Court of France, under the care of La Gaucherie, a man of letters. In 1562, the year in which Anthony of Navarre was killed at Rouen, he was sent to the College of Navarre,

[1] Palma Cayet, Chronique Novennaire.

in Paris, and lived on terms of the strictest intimacy with the Duke of Anjou, and the Prince de Joinville—"One of whom *was* afterwards his King, under the title of Henry the Third; and the other, as Duke of Guise, did all in his power to become so."[1]

1566. He returned with his mother to Paris, and was placed under the care of Dr. Florent Chrétien, one of the ablest and most judicious of the learned men of his day.

[1] Mém. de Nevers.

## CHAPTER II.

FRANCIS THE SECOND. — DESCRIPTION OF THE STATE OF PARTIES AND THE CHARACTERS OF THE PRINCIPAL NOBILITY.

It would be a mistake, to attribute altogether the ensuing civil wars in France, as some have done, to the then almost universal prevalence of that false maxim in politics; "Two religions cannot exist together in the same state:" and it would be one far greater to assert with others, that religion had little to do with the real grounds of the quarrel; and was used only as a pretext to cover the selfish struggles of ambitious men.

Selfish ambition, it is true, was fatally blended with religious bigotry on one side, and subsequently, though not originally, debased the generous principles of the other: but the reason why the great contest carried on throughout Europe between the old and the new opinions was so peculiarly disastrous in France, must be sought for in the unfortunate situation of affairs in that kingdom when this contest first came to an issue.

Besides the almost universal depravation of manners in the higher classes, and the excess of wretchedness and barbarism into which the lower were plunged — sources of dissension, in those days unfortunately too general — France had her own peculiar political evils and difficulties to contend with, these were:—

1st. A long period of minorities — or to speak more correctly, what though not nominally, were essentially

minorities—for the early period at which the heir to the French crown was legally of age, and consequently empowered to govern in his own person, namely, thirteen years, occasioned yet more evil than a real minority.

2nd. The existence of those rival and powerful factions in the court and kingdom, which the selfish and careless imprudence of Henry the Second had suffered to gather strength till they absorbed all the real authority of the state.

To these must be added the accidental circumstance (if accidental is the proper term,) of these factions being at this moment headed by men of extraordinary, and nearly equal abilities; though in views, character, and religious sentiments, diametrically opposed to each other.

These opposing and well-balanced forces effectually prevented that taking place in France, which—the principle of toleration being once rejected — can alone afford a chance for the preservation of order and tranquillity; namely, such an overwhelming superiority in one or the other religious party as shall at once extinguish every hope of success, and with it every attempt at resistance.

Accordingly, we find that in Spain and England, however much we may disapprove of the means, the question was at least set at rest, by men of resolute minds in the possession of almost absolute authority. Among the little sovereigns of the German empire a settlement was also soon completed. In states so small the opinions of the people and governments were easily ascertained; and they ranged themselves, after short struggles, under the banners of one or the other party.

In Scotland we find an exception to this—and, from some of the same causes which influenced France, the contest there becomes long, obstinate, and bloody.

In the Low Countries that struggle may be observed

which ensues when the mass of the people stand opposed to a determined and imperious government.

In France the division is universal—The people, the aristocracy, the wealth, the talent of the nation separate into two vast parties, between which we behold as mediator a boy King, with powers so ill defined, and so little restrained by law or by custom, that the accidental possession of his person conveys with it absolute and supreme authority: added to which, during the course of these lamentable divisions, the person of the Prince, and the consequent authority, were, for the most part, in the hands of a woman insatiable of command, but without possessing in the least degree that genius for government which affords the only justification for ambition. And she—too feeble to control and render subservient the rivalry of parties, and too unprincipled to adhere to either, in the sincerity of conviction—uses her endeavours to foment, rather than to calm, dissensions, under the influence of that miserable maxim of the weak, "divide and govern."

This treacherous and contemptible policy speedily produces its legitimate effects. Both parties gradually lose their confidence in, and respect for, a government at once false and fluctuating; they learn to rely upon their own resources for protection or pre-eminence, till obedience is openly discarded.

The Protestants are at length driven, by the most merciless and unjustifiable persecution, to defend their lives by arms; experience having taught them, that their principles of religious submission, and the unexampled patience with which they, for so many years, had submitted to the cruelties of the Catholic party, were of no avail; and that in order to obtain either justice or protection from a weak and treacherous government, it was necessary to be in sufficient force to command them.

The Catholics, on the other hand, sensible that it was the circumstance of their superiority in strength, and not a reciprocation of principles which had decided the Court to embrace their party, resolve to maintain by their own efforts, the advantageous pre-eminence they have acquired; and the least approach, on the part of the government, to an equitable or impartial administration becomes the signal with them for revolt.

Distrusting the good faith of their rulers, they learn, in their turn, to rely for the defence of their religious privileges upon their own resources and their own chiefs, until the crown in the end becomes almost overlooked in the quarrel. There is little reason to doubt that had not the genius of Henry of Bourbon arrested the course of events, France, as a monarchy, would have ceased to exist, and would have been broken up into innumerable petty states, settled according to the prevailing opinions of each, though not till after an almost interminable series of desolating and bloody quarrels.

Before commencing the relation of this long struggle, I think it will be desirable to lay before you a brief summary of the state of parties, and to sketch from the memorials left in our hands, those individual characters who exercised such an extraordinary personal influence upon the course of events. Doubtless the tempers and principles of the men to whom the world's direction seems to be entrusted, possess an incalculable power over its happiness or its misery; but never was there a period in history where this truth was more strikingly illustrated than in the story before us. The separation of the masses into two great and inimical parties, under the influences of the two last reigns, I have endeavoured to point out—and the lamentable results produced by the mistaken course pursued by the government, and the false policy which

directed it in this crisis of the human mind. The Reformed were driven by persecution into that state bordering upon final despair, which results from the obstinate denial of justice, and which infallibly produces secret disaffection, counteracting the influence by which the sentiments of common country, common feeling, and common interests unite society so harmoniously together. The Catholics, incited by the preaching of their friars and priests, and the thirst for blood stimulated by the barbarous spectacles perpetually presented to them, had been worked up to a state of fanaticism which rendered them almost unmanageable. In the mean time the higher ranks—the Court and the aristocracy—were split by the misgovernment of the late King into two distinct factions, prepared to maintain to the last extremity, the struggle for power.

Henry the Second had left seven children; the eldest, born after ten years' wedlock, was Francis, now king, a youth of somewhere about fifteen or sixteen years of age, who was already married to the beautiful Mary Stuart, niece, it must be remembered, to the Duke of Guise. But young as he was—by the French law which settles the term of the minority of their Kings at thirteen years—Francis was major. He was a child endowed with all the authority of a ripened man, and as such, entitled to choose his councillors, and legitimate by his assent every act, wrong or right, of the government.

Here was a prize to be contended for!—And the combatants were ready to take the field to dispute it.

The court may be considered as being at this time divided into three parties—by the two great factions headed by the House of Lorraine, and that of Montmorenci, and by the party of the Princes of the blood—who, though not entitled to claim authority as a *right*, which would have been

the case under a minority, yet very naturally expected to receive a considerable share in the administration of affairs, and looked with peculiar jealousy upon those ambitious strangers who seemed resolved to appropriate the whole to themselves.

For the members of the house of Lorraine, though now naturalized in France, were regarded by the kingdom in general as foreigners in the true sense of the word; and not all their splendid talents, nor the great actions of Francis, the present Duke of Guise, could reconcile the minds of the Frenchmen to their sway: with the exception, however, of the high Catholic party, at the head of which—rather from policy and ambition than from any peculiar strength of religious opinion—they had now openly placed themselves.

The fanatical population of the city of Paris was quite at their devotion; and the marriage of their beautiful niece to the idolizing young man who feebly occupied the throne, seemed to ensure their ascendancy in the palace.

On the other hand, the party headed by the old Constable of Montmorenci was supported by its alliances with the family of Coligni, whose members were equally remarkable for their wealth, distinguished talents, and the great offices they enjoyed. In spite of the prejudices of the old Constable himself, this faction rested for support, in a considerable measure, upon the Reform; while union of religious views, and jealousy of the foreigner, brought them into close connection with the Princes of the blood royal, so that these two may almost be looked upon as forming one party.

Thus they stood at the death of the King, these two great factions in opposition to each other, and nearly equally balanced, as it would seem, in wealth, political eminence—and that *prestige* which then attended, still

attends, and must ever attend, upon high descent and a noble ancestry.

"The house of Montmorenci boasted," says Davila, "of a descent, in unbroken succession, from one of those barons who accompanied Pharamond, first King of France, in his Salique expedition; and they also professed to believe their ancestors to have been the first among the French nobility who had embraced the christian faith and received baptism. Therefore the Lords of this house bore upon their banners '*Deus primum Christianum serbet!*' in undoubted testimony of the piety and antiquity of their progenitors."

In the reign of Philip le Bel, the prerogatives of the Montmorencies were thus proudly announced: "*Montmorenci!—Premier chrétien que roi en France!—Premier seigneur de Montmorenci que roi en France!*" His cry is—"*Dieu ayde au premier chrétien!*"—his motto is—"*Aplanos.*"[1]

At the head of the house of Montmorenci, was the great Constable Anne,[2] who, during the last two reigns, had been, perhaps, the most considerable person in the kingdom; and, under Henry the Second had been looked upon as the acknowledged prime minister, which place at the death of the King he still held. He had married Madeleine of Savoy,[3] nearly connected with the royal family of France; one of the most wise and virtuous Princesses of her time, as Brantôme tells us—"And who," says he, "in spite of the new fashions of the court, has never changed hers, which was according to the old French mode; with her robe and pendent sleeves, which set off *sa grace toute magistrâle*, and well became the daughter of a noble house, which

[1] Davila, Guerre Civile di Francia.

[2] So named after Anne of Brittany his god-mother, Queen of Charles the Eighth and Louis the Twelfth.

[3] Her father was Renée, bastard of Savoy, brother to the Regent Louisa mother of Francis the First.

she was." By this marriage Montmorenci became the father of a numerous family, five sons and five daughters. The sons were, the Maréchal de Montmorenci, Damville, De Merci, De Montberon, et De Thoré—four of his daughters married into powerful houses, and the fifth, says Brantôme, "married into a greater house still, which is that of God; she being the Abbess of St. Pierre de Rheims, and the handsomest, in my opinion, among them all—not intending, however, any disrespect towards the others."

But the influence of Montmorenci was still further strengthened and extended by the guardianship of, and consequent intimate connection with, his nephews of the house of Coligni. Louisa de Montmorenci, his sister, had, in her second nuptials, espoused Gaspard de Coligni, to whom she bore 1st Odet, afterwards Cardinal de Chatillon, 2nd Gaspard de Chatillon well known as the great Admiral de Coligni, and 3rd N. afterwards the Seigneur d'Andelot, all three men eminent for their talents as well as for their high birth and great riches.

The first marriage of Louisa de Montmorenci with the Maréchal de Maille, had given birth to the Dame de Roye, whose daughter had married the Prince de Condé, second Prince of the blood. The Prince de Porcian, the Vidâme de Chartres, and numbers of the higher nobility, must also be considered as attached to the fortunes of Montmorenci. Most of the members of this party, may, as I have said, be considered as inclining to or openly attached to the Reformed opinions.

The rival house of Lorraine, no less haughty in its pretensions, claimed descent in direct female line from Charlemagne himself—and, in the pride of such a succession, were, it is said, tempted to look down with secret contempt upon the royal house of Valois, as derived only from a successful and usurping servant. (*Hugues Capet.*)[1]

[1] Le Laboureur.

Be this as it might, this descent, it will be seen, served, in the course of events, as one pretence to colour the ambitious designs of this family upon the French crown.

The splendid alliances of this house would fill pages;[1] but it will be sufficient here to mention, that the sister of the present Duke of Guise, was Queen Regent of Scotland, and consequently that the Queen dauphine of France, as Mary Stuart was called, was his niece.[2] Claude first Duke of Guise had married Antoinette de Bourbon, which served to strengthen them by a connection with the Princes of the blood, and also to open a communication through that alliance—had such been their pleasure—with the party of the Reformed, which the illustrious house of Bourbon was justly considered to favour.

Antoinette de Bourbon, sister to Charles first Duke of Vendome, and great aunt to Henry the Fourth, left six sons. 1st Francis, second and present Duke of Guise, 2nd Charles Cardinal of Lorraine, 3rd the Duke d'Aumale, 4th the Cardinal de Guise, 5th the Marquis d'Elbœuf, and 6th the Grand Prior. The two first, it is needless to say, being men of the highest intellectual capacity; the whole family being composed of men of indisputable ability and enterprise.

The house of Guise must be considered as standing at the head of the Catholic interest, and in close connection with Spain; the Maréchal de St. André, the Duke de Nemours, Strozzi and Brissac are the most distinguished among the members of the nobility which supported it.

The Princes of the blood, were the King of Navarre and his brother the Prince de Condé, openly favouring the Reform. The Cardinal de Bourbon and the

[1] It may interest some to know that the Pio Goffredo of Tasso was of the house of Lorraine.

[2] After his marriage, Francis the Second, till the death of his father, bore the title of King-dauphin.

Duke de Montpensier, devoted to the Catholic interest; and the Prince de la Roche sur Yon inclining to the Reform. Catherine de Medicis with her children may be considered as forming a fourth interest. Of these there were seven. The sons, Francis the King, Charles, afterwards King as Charles the Ninth, Alexander, afterwards Duke d'Anjou, and subsequently King under the name of Henry Third, and Hercules, afterwards Duke d'Alençon; these three last as yet mere children. The daughters were Elizabeth de la Paix, married to Philip the Second, King of Spain; Claude to the Duke of Lorraine; and Margaret subsequently married to Henry the Fourth, at that time King of Navarre, and subsequently of France. Tavannes, Montluc, and Vieilleville, were among the most eminent of the Queen Mother's personal supporters.

Notwithstanding his great reputation the Constable de Montmorenci appears to have been in truth but an ordinary man; remarkable neither for eminent wisdom, nor eminent virtue. A certain austerity and gravity of deportment imposed upon the world for both, and obtained for him a respect and reverence never adequately deserved. He was, however, brave, active, and indefatigable, but with a harsh and violent temper, a narrow and bigoted understanding—he was vain, pompous, and proud. In military talents, if tried by the test of success, he was as far inferior to his illustrious rival, as in prudence, and magnanimity, or even humanity.

We find Montmorenci, in the first years of Henry the Second, punishing disturbances in the southern provinces of France by the most rigorous measures and the most barbarous inflictions. Men are hanged for sedition, with "burning crowns of iron round their heads;"[1] and the large and important city of Bordeaux compelled to ac-

[1] Mézeray, Hen. the Second.

cept the most insulting and intolerable conditions, while the Duke de Guise, upon the same occasion, pacifies whole provinces by his humanity, moderation, and justice.

Brantôme, in his lively manner, speaking of the Constable, thus paints the harsh and superstitious old man.[1] "He never failed in his devotions or in his prayers; he never missed his Pater-nostre, whether in the house, on horseback, in the fields, or with the armies; in which armies it was a common saying, '*Dieu nous garde des paternostres de M. le Connétable.*' For while he said and muttered them, as occasions presented, or disorders might chance to arise, he would keep crying out,—'*Allez moi pendre un tel,*' '*Attachez moi celui à un arbre.*' 'Pass such a one through the pikes!'—'Cut him to pieces before my eyes!'—'Fire at these rascals who presume to resist the King!'—'Burn me such a village!'—'Ravage me such a district!' might be a league round—and such like words of justice and fine police of war used he—all without debauching himself from his paters till they were finished—thinking it a great sin to omit them on any occasion at the proper hour—*tant il etoit consciencieux.*"[2]

Francis the Great, Duke of Guise, "*car il faut l'appeler grand parmi nous autres,*" says Brantôme, "having myself never heard him named by the Spaniards or Italians but as *el gran Duque de Guisa, el gran capitano di Guisa,*" had been distinguished in the late wars for all those qualities which combine to constitute a first-rate commander. "This great captain," continues Brantôme, "must be praised and esteemed, not for one *chef-d'œuvre* of war which he achieved, but for many; the battle of Renti, the voyage of Italy, the capture of Calais, the sieges of Metz, of Hanes, Thionville, &c. Whoever will place before his eyes the fine order of war which at the siege of Metz he

[1] Brantôme, Hommes Illustres. [2] Hommes Illustres, Guise.

maintained; the perfect obedience which was rendered him by so large an assemblage of princes, nobles, captains, and soldiers, without the slightest insubordination in the world; with the splendid combats and sorties that he made —and afterwards the fair and gentle benignity with which he treated his vanquished enemies—half dead with sickness, poverty, and misery—will say and confess that this siege of Metz *a été la plus belle qui fut fait jamais.*"[1]

To a military genius of the highest order the Duke of Guise united indefatigable industry and unceasing watchfulness, and surpassed his adversaries as much by the exactness of his intelligences as by the excellence of his dispositions; and while, as we shall find, the first captains opposed to him are perpetually deceived in their calculations, through the negligence or indolence of those insubordinate gentlemen volunteers who at that time constituted the main strength of every army, Guise, relying upon himself, and trusting little to others, is invariably successful in his designs. "He was the first general," says Brantôme, "of our armies, who fulfilled the duties of colonel, master of artillery, *maitre de camp, capitaine,* and soldier. In reconnoitring places, he seldom said to any captain or soldier, 'reconnoitre me that, or look after this.' Most often he went himself, and placed his soldiers himself in the trenches, ditches, towers, or on the breach; in short, no captain equalled him in those qualities which the Marquis de Pescara used to say ought to distinguish a good commander, 'who,' said he, 'should govern all with great labour of body and mind, not making use of the eyes of others, but of his own.' For often a great captain comes off victorious from battles and assaults when distrusting others he puts his own hand to the work, of however little importance it might at first appear to be."

[1] Brantôme, Hommes Illustres.

Guise was accustomed, Brantôme tells us, to write his despatches with his own hand, "passing whole nights at this labour," a thing which irritated beyond measure the fiery Montluc, who could have no conception of a general at a desk.

At the siege of Thionville, Montluc, seeking him on business, was told that he was writing:—"*Au diable de ses écritures,*" cries Montluc. "Pity he's not *greffier* to the Parliament of Paris; he would gain more than Tillet and all the rest." Guise overhearing him, only said, with his usual sweetness, "*Eh bien, Montluc! Crois tu que je serois bon à être greffier.*" "Do you think I am of the right stuff to make a clerk." And then, coming out of his tent, gave his orders with his accustomed decision and authority.

To these qualities "were added an eloquence," says our author, (who it must be confessed, speaks as one quite dazzled by the fine qualities of his subject, to whom, indeed, he had been most warmly attached,) "*Non point contrainte et fardée, mais naïve et militaire,*" not elaborate and artificial, but simple and warlike. A figure lofty and commanding; a countenance noble and intelligent; to which a large scar upon the cheek, from the wound of a lance which had passed entirely through the head, added grace rather than deformity—and from which he obtained, as did his son from a similar cause, the title of *le balafré*—complete the picture of this illustrious man. Distinguished as we have seen, during the foreign wars, for the courtesy, gentleness, and humanity of his temper, but of unbridled ambition, and, as it appears, (unlike his brother the Cardinal de Lorraine,) a fanatic in religion, Guise, during the latter days of his career, suffered himself to be hurried by the influences of that bad man into acts of violence, treachery, and duplicity, which excite our almost unmitigated abhorrence.

He had committed that great mistake of neglecting

to enlarge and cultivate his fine understanding by reading. Guise was an ignorant man—and fell a victim to the prejudices and the arts of men, his inferiors in all other, but this one respect.

His beautiful wife, Anne d'Este, was, through her mother, (Renée of France, duchess of Ferrara,) grand-daughter to Louis the Twelfth. "*Une très grande dame et la plus belle de la cour,*" says Brantôme; "*possible si je disois de toute la chrétienté je ne mentirois pas.*" [1]

Charles Cardinal of Lorraine, second brother of the Duke of Guise, to whose sinister influence so large a portion of the miseries of France must be ascribed, had, says Brantôme, "*un esprit fort subtil, bon jugement, bon retentive, il etoit de très bon grace et façon.* He spoke well and eloquently on all things, human as well as divine; and Monsieur de Guise, his nephew, has told me, that one of his greatest expenses was to have intelligence from all parts of Christendom, and that he had his pensioners who advertised him of everything." Doubtless the Cardinal de Lorraine was learned, politic, and eloquent, but his character was an epitome of vices; mean, yet ambitious; violent, yet crafty; a contemptible coward, and barbarously cruel. With the utmost secret contempt for all those things which men in general hold sacred—he was a persecuting bigot, without religious persuasion. For though he was hated by the Hugonots for his religion," continues our author, "he was thought to be a great hypocrite, using it chiefly as a means to build up his greatness. I have heard him talk of the Confession of Augsburg, half approving it; at times he almost preached it to please the Germans. . . . . In prosperity he was very insolent and grand, regarding and considering no one; but in adversity

[1] After the death of the Duke of Guise, she married the Duke of Nemours, of whom such a brilliant picture is drawn by Brantôme.

*le plus doux, courtois, et gracieux, qu'on en sceut voir;* so that one of the queen's young ladies, Mademoiselle de la Guyoniere, used to attack him for this; for when he was upon his high horse he regarded no one, neither man nor woman; and when he was low in the world he sought and courted everybody; so that this young lady would sometimes say, '*Mais, monsieur, dites le vrai, n'avez vous pas eu un revers de fortune.*' 'Come, tell us,—Certainly some misfortune has befallen you, otherwise you would never condescend to speak to *us!*' "

Gaspard de Coligni, Seigneur de Chatillon, occupies the next place, after his great rival, though early friend, the Duke de Guise.

Governor of Picardy and of the Isle of France, he first held the charge of colonel-general of the French infantry; but he had now resigned it to his brother, the Seigneur d'Andelot, when he himself was created Grand admiral of France—and he now held that post, considered as one of the most eminent in the kingdom, and rated above that of field-marshal.

Brantôme compares him and the Duke of Guise to two diamonds of the finest water; on the superior excellence of which it is impossible to decide. "In their youth," says he, "the greatest friendship had subsisted between them—*grands compagnons, amis, et confédérés de cour;* wearing the same dresses, using the same liveries, of the same parties in tournaments and *combats de plaisir*, runnings at the ring, and masquerades. *Tout deux fort enjoués, et faisant des folies plus extravagantes les uns que les autres, et surtout, ne faisant jamais nulle folie qu'ils ne fissent mal; tant ils etoient rudes joueurs, et malheureux dars leurs jeux.*[1]

[1] Tavannes exceeded in extravagance all the extravagancies of his time. He is described as running along the tops of the houses in Paris, and springing from one roof to another across the narrow streets.

"Monsicur de Guise was prodigiously eloquent, and so was M. l'Amiral, but the latter was the more learned of the two; he understood and spoke Latin well; he had both studied and read; always reading when not engaged in affairs—*Il etoit seigneur d'honneur—homme de bien,—sage, mur, bien avisé, politique, et brave*; a censor and weigher of things, loving honour and virtue."[1]

To this it must be added, that his sense of religious obligation was most deep and fervent; and that, with him, the maintenance of the Reform was no pretence to cover a factious ambition—but an object of the most serious importance, justified by his convictions, and to which he deliberately sacrificed the best years of his life, and, finally, life itself. Brantôme bears witness how earnestly this great and good man laboured for peace; and how invariably he repressed the ambitious designs of his followers, saying, "If we have our religion, what do we want more?" And he feelingly describes the patriotic intentions, and affectionate confidence with which after the third troubles, Coligni returned to the king, and to that court where he was so barbarously slaughtered.

Coligni was one in truth, devoted to the great cause of human improvement in all its forms; labouring for the advancement of truth, and the maintenance of justice and order. As Colonel-General of the French infantry, *Colonel Général de l'infanterie Française*, Brantôme tells us, "It was he who regulated it by those fine ordonnances that we still have of his; and which are printed, practised, read, and published, among our bands. Captains and others, even of the contrary party, when any difficulty of war arose, would say, 'In this we must be guided by the rules and ordonnances of M. l'Amiral.' They were right, they were the best and most politic that have ever been

[1] Brantôme, Hommes Illustres.

made in France; and I believe have preserved the lives of a million of persons—to say nothing of their properties and possessions. For till then, it was nothing but pillage, robbery, brigandage, murders, quarrels, and brutality, so that the companies resembled hordes of wild Arabs, rather than noble soldiers."[1]

He is also recorded (Mem. de Vieilleville) as being the first who planned an hospital for the French army; and in another place he is mentioned as building a large meeting-house at Rouen, for the celebration of the Reformed worship; while the strenuous efforts he made at the States General of Orleans, 1560, to obtain something like a regular system of representation for the people of France, proves the wisdom and energy of his political character. He was, perhaps, one of the truest patriots that France ever possessed; yet such is the force of religious prejudice and the injustice of history, that the French writers, almost without exception—save those, indeed, devoted to his own party—conspire in the attempt to cover him with obloquy, as a turbulent and ambitious malcontent: handing down from one to another that sophistical sentence applied to him by his enemies—that his greatest exploits were against his King, his religion, and his country.

He was married to Charlotte de Laval, a lady devoted to the new religion; and it was she, who established in his family, what he ever afterwards maintained, a gravity and decorum rarely to be seen in the households of the nobility of his time.

As an example of what that sort of discipline was, which the members of the Reform instituted in their families, I will, from a cotemporary author, transcribe a description of these domestic habits.

[1] Brantôme, Hommes Illustres.

"As soon as the Admiral had quitted his bed, which in general was very early in the morning, and had wrapped his night-gown round him, he knelt down, as did his attendants, and made a prayer after the custom of the French Hugonot Churches; after which, while he was waiting for the sermon (which was preached every day, accompanied with the singing of Psalms,) he gave audience to the deputies of the churches that were sent to him, and employed himself in public. Occasionally he did business after the sermon till dinner time. When dinner was ready, his household servants, except those who were immediately employed in preparing the necessaries of the table, all waited in the great hall. When the table being set, the Admiral with his wife by his side stood at the head of it. If there had been no sermon that morning a Psalm was sung, and then the usual benediction followed; which ceremony numbers of Germans—colonels and captains—as well as French officers, who were asked to dine with him, can witness he observed without even intermitting a single day—not only at his own house in days of quiet, but even whilst he was with the army. The cloth being taken away, he rose as well as his wife and all his attendants, and either returned thanks himself, or caused his chaplain to do so. And having observed that some of his household could not regularly attend the prayers in the evening on account of their occupations and amusements, he ordered that every one of them should present themselves in the great hall after supper, and then after singing a Psalm, a prayer was said."

The Seigneur d'Andelot, the youngest brother of the house of Chatillon, affords by his animated and enterprising character, a striking contrast to the Admiral. But the brothers were tenderly attached to each other—"*ils s'entre aimoient, s'entre aydoient, s'entre soutenoient*—

loved, aided, and supported each other."[1] D'Andelot, by the assistance of the Admiral, had made a splendid marriage with Mademoiselle de Rieux, an heiress of one of the first houses in Brittany, and possessed immense estates in that province. He had been, during the Italian wars, a prisoner in the castle of Milan. "And it was there," says Brantôme, "he learned his fine religion, for having no other exercises he set himself to read, and had all sorts of books brought to him—for the Inquisition was not so tight then as it has been since—and there he learned the New Religion, though, indeed, he had got a first scent of it during the Protestant wars in Germany. Such," he concludes pathetically, "are the sad fruits of leisure and idleness. So many evil things does she teach us, of which we have cause ever afterwards to repent."

Odet de Chatillon, the elder of the three brothers, Bishop of Beauvais and Cardinal, was a man of fine understanding, and the most polished manners. "I knew," says a cotemporary author, "the Cardinal de Chatillon well, and whenever I recal him to my memory, it appears to me that France never possessed a man more discreet, courteous, and generous than he was; and I have heard those say, who knew him at the court of Francis I. and Henry II., that the disgrace of his friends never shook his favour, and that the very enemies of those nearest to him could not refrain from loving himself; which was because he had so generous and open a countenance, and was never rude, nor displeasing to any one. *Cette belle façon*, was not in his brother the Admiral—*Je crois que cette entendement retiré en soi même et cet esprit sévère* little aided the fortunes of his house, though it was neither arrogance nor pride in him; but a simple habit to which his nature inclined him."

[1] Brantôme, Hommes Illustres.

The Cardinal de Chatillon became early a convert to the reformed religion, and in course of time married.

We now come to the princes of the blood. At their head was Anthony of Bourbon, King of Navarre, whose descent and connections have been described at large in the preceding chapter. He was a man not without talents of a certain order, who during the late wars had commanded in the armies with some reputation; but he was utterly without strength of character, or unity of purpose; and is thus described by Tavannes:—

"He was a man of a light and thoroughly irresolute temper, taking one side, then suddenly changing to another; and the opinion he abandoned always seemed to him the best: so that, forgetting the reasons which made against it, he adopted it once more; and immediately, the present danger leading him to regard that just assumed as the most perilous, he would forsake it again."[1]

Anthony of Navarre is a striking instance of the evils which arise when second-rate ability, combined with weakness of moral principle and instability of temper, is elevated to influential situations. The vacillations of his selfish fears and calculations, aided by jealousy, that demon of weak minds, did more to ruin France than all the loftier errors of the rest united. So true it is that states and families may perish as surely through the timidity, meanness, and want of spirit in their leaders, as through the greatest excesses of ill-directed energy.

"In his religion he fluctuated, as in other things; was neither a good Catholic, nor a genuine Lutheran; his mind seemed to want power to fix itself."[2]

His brother, Louis de Bourbon, Prince de Condé, the heroic, the beloved, the erring,

[1] Mem. de Tavannes. [2] Ibid.

"Ce petit homme tant joli
Qui toujours cause, et toujours rit,
Et toujours aime sa mignonne,
Dieu garde de mal le petit homme,"

was as spirited and generous as Anthony was calculating and timid. His talents were great, his disposition kind and affectionate, his soul the very temple of honour. He was remarkable for a ready and unstudied eloquence, and had, in spite of a gay and lively temper, and the errors into which it too often betrayed him, very serious impressions of religion and virtue.

[1] "He spoke well, rallied well, was small and slender, but for all that strong, active, *vert, et vigoureux, accostable, agréable, aimable;* so that the Italians used to say, '*Dio mi guarda del bel gigneto del Principe de Condé, et del animo et stecco del Amiraglio.*'"[2]

Condé was extremely poor, without appointments, and with a small inheritance, and his whole life had been, and yet was to be, spent in one brave struggle with narrow circumstances; hard for a man of his magnanimity and spirit!

"He was worthy of a better age, and of a better fate."[3]

"His wife, Eleanor de Roye," (thus speaks the Catholic Maimbourg,) "was a woman of great sense, feeling, and virtue; but she and her mother were two of the most ardent and determined Hugonots of their time."

It remains to give the reader the portrait of her who is the central figure in the scenes about to follow—of the Queen Consort, dowager, regent, and mother, Catherine de Medicis.

Catherine was the only daughter of Lorenzo de Medicis, Duke of Urbino, and of Madeleine, Countess of

[1] Brantôme, Hommes Illustres.

[2] *Stecco*, the tooth-pick which Coigny carried stuck in his beard, and which he had the habit of using when engaged in thought.

[3] Annotator on Tavannes.

Auvergne and Laraguais. Her life had been, till now, one of vexation and unhappiness. The early death of her parents had condemned her childhood to ceaseless vicissitudes; and from the time of her marriage continual mortification had attended her. The first years of it had been childless, and all the succeeding ones embittered by the triumphs of a successful and haughty rival—Diana de Poictiers, Duchess of Valentinois, who, during the reign of Henry the Second, engrossed all the power and rights of a wife and of a Queen.

Catherine had been suspected, even in these her early days, of practising what were called the *Italian arts*, and of making way, by poison, for her husband's succession to the crown;[1] but as she had, during so many years, without having recourse to such arts, submitted to this irritating rivalry, the suspicion is probably unfounded.[2]

This Queen, whose subsequent actions seem to justify the name so often applied to her of the "Modern Brunehault and Fredegonde"—this treacherous deceiver and cruel murderer is thus, in appearance and manner, represented by Brantôme:—

"She was of a beautiful, rich, and majestic figure, extremely soft in her manners whenever she thought proper so to be; of a lively aspect, and most excellent grace. Her countenance sweet and agreeable; the throat excelling by its form, and the exquisite whiteness of her skin, her whole complexion being most fair and delicate: her figure, remarkable for its symmetry, *du reste la plus belle main qui fût jamais, si crois je.* The poets have praised Aurora for her beautiful hands, but I think this Queen would have surpassed even her; and she kept this beauty to the last.

[1] See Brantôme's account of the death of his elder brother, the dauphin Francis.

[2] "Accepting in gratitude as a boon from her rival the smallest favours, which without a request she ought to have received from her husband."

"She dressed well and superbly, and had continually new and pleasing inventions. I remember a picture, painted at Lyons, of this great Queen in all her beauty, dressed after the French fashion, with a hat with her large pearls, and a robe with sleeves of cloth of gold, furred with *loup cervier*—a most lively representation, with her beautiful face, wanting only the gift of speech, and having her three most lovely daughters near her. In which picture she took much pleasure, and all the company admiring and praising her beauty, M. de Nemours said, 'Madame, I see you there well pourtrayed, and your daughters do you honour; for they approach, but do not surpass you in beauty.' She answered, 'Mon cousin, you remember those days, and can judge whether my beauty was esteemed as you say, and whether I resembled that picture.' And all the company began to praise and infinitely esteem this great loveliness, saying, that the mother was worthy of the daughters, and the daughters of the mother. And these charms lasted, in great measure, till the day of her death." [1]

"She was excellent company, gay in her spirits, loving all becoming exercise, especially dancing, in which she was full of grace and majesty. She loved hunting, more especially with Francis the First in his small hunting parties; and was the first inventor of the side-saddle, and practised horsemanship to the age of sixty years and more. Hunted with her husband; and if he played at the Pall Mall she would play too, and drew the crossbow well."

[1] Brantôme, Femmes Illustres.

[2] The Duchess of Valentinois was still more remarkable for the duration of her beauty. She was forty-seven when she made the conquest of a young and licentious Prince, under thirty years of age. Some of my readers may be inquisitive as to the means by which so much beauty was preserved. It was the practice for ladies to rise extremely early and spend many hours on horseback. She used to return to bed for an hour or two when her exercise was over.

The Queen was a lover of poetry and of the theatre, and an indefatigable inventor of ballets, and those scenic entertainments to which that age was so much addicted. "When she called any one *mon ami*," concludes Brantôme, it signified that she thought him a fool, or was in a rage, so that M. de Boistermier, when she called him so, used to say '*de grace, Madame*, let it be *mon ennemi*.'"

Catherine was insatiable in her thirst for power, yet little capable of exercising it, having neither comprehensive views nor constancy of object. A judicious French writer, contrasting her with our Queen Elizabeth, says, "The conceptions of Catherine, though plausible at first view, prove on examination little and confined; and discover only *le bel esprit*, the jargon of intrigue, and the play (*manège*) of a weak and wicked woman. Elizabeth, on the contrary, saw widely and clearly, and could break her hobbeys (*hoquets*) at once, whenever they interfered with her views—her's was the march of genius."

In her private relations Catherine was vain, domineering, and unamiable; a haughty, distant, and partial mother, devoting herself with passion to the interests of one child, and that the worst among her children (Henry of Anjou), to the exclusion of the rest; whom she educated in those habits of awe and of an abject deference and submission, which inevitably weaken and degrade the character. In her own habits she was vicious, and an encourager of vice in others.

As for the poor boy King, thus invested at fifteen years of age with unbounded authority, his character, as it has come down to us, appears deficient in every quality that could render such a trust less hurtful or absurd. He appears to have been a poor, weak, peevish, sulky boy, and such affections as he had were entirely absorbed in his passion for the fascinating Mary Stuart.

Genuine portraits of all these characters are now in existence, and a few of the most remarkable I have been enabled to have engraved from the Lenoir collection now in this country, and in the possession of his Grace the Duke of Sutherland.[1]

Such were the factions which divided the Court of France.—The state in which the inferior nobility, the middle and lower orders existed, will merit a little attention also, in order to make the situation of society in this moment of transition understood by the English reader.

The grand feudal chivalry of France was at an end. Though numbers among the nobility were still powerful enough to enter into leagues and combine against their sovereign, yet those magnificent independent chiefs, *hauts feudataires de la couronne*, who, single-handed, and upon terms almost of equality, had entered into contests with

[1] In this collection I looked in vain for a characteristic portrait either of Francis Duke of Guise, the Great Constable, or of Coligny. There is a drawing of the three brothers Chatillon, dressed in clothes and short cloaks of what appears to be cloth of wool, without any of those ribbons, velvets, silks, or embroidery common to the dresses of that day; their countenances are grave, not to say forbidding; that of D'Andelot very long, thin, and serious to severity. The portraits of the three younger sons of Catherine are strikingly characteristic; there is something spirited and open, yet an expression that one cannot quite understand, in the countenance of Charles the Ninth; Henry the Third, beautiful in feature, has a meanness and wickedness, so to speak, that is very remarkable; the Duke of Alençon, spirited and handsome, justifies in some degree the partiality with which Queen Elizabeth beheld her young admirer. There are drawings of Henry the Second and his two sons, Henry the Third and the Duke of Alençon, on horseback. Henry the Second is a remarkably fine handsome man, his very large horse splendidly accoutred and with a plume of feathers upon his head. Henry the Third wears a crown of laurel like a Roman Emperor, and appears to be engaged in some triumphal procession; the way is strewed with flowers: he is handsome, but still preserves the mean, unpleasant countenance. The Duke of Alençon, upon a high curvetting horse, is a very spirited figure.

The portrait of Catherine is at once a history and a lesson. The traces of the beauty described by Brantôme are still to be seen; but the scowl, the dark black cloud that hangs over the countenance, tells the tale of an evil life, disappointed hopes, and a conscience stained with blood. For the portraits of the three Colignys the work is indebted to the collection of the Earl Amherst at Knole.

their nominal Lord,—namely, the Dukes of Burgundy, Brittany, Normandy, &c.—were no more.

The noblesse no longer numbered one single vassal competent *alone* to oppose the crown, this danger, therefore, had vanished. The age of chivalry was beginning also to pass away, and that of courts and courtiers to succeed. The once wild, independent nobles, had begun to leave their lofty castles, their forests, and their tufted woods, and, attended by their *demoiselles*, (that is to say their wives,) attired in the fantastical and expensive fashions of the day, to frequent those gay and magnificent scenes, which, during the last reigns, had been rendered so attractive. No Court was ever gayer than that of Francis the First, Henry the Second, or, in imitation of them, that maintained by Catherine of Medicis in spite of all her troubles. There were tournaments, tilting matches—at which the long lance was still used—and where the knights in their rich gilded armour, their surcoats of velvet, mounted on their caparisoned and plumed horses, rivalled the paladins of old, and with

> "Store of ladies whose bright eyes
> Rain influence and judge the prize
> Of wit and arms."

Hunting matches, at which the *filles de la reine*, to the number of several hundred, followed the King attired in fanciful and picturesque dresses, and mounted upon their *haquenées*. Dances, scenic representations, in which these gay and beautiful creatures bore the most considerable part. Magnificent processions—an idea of which may be taken from the engravings in Montfaucon—gambling for the men and coquetry for the women, divided and animated the time, tending more to subdue the ancient spirit of independence than all the policy of Lewis the Eleventh could ever do.

Add to this, that the introduction of fire-arms was about to change the whole system of warfare, which now, by degrees, began to assume an entirely new character and aspect. A few years more, and the spirited *gens d'armerie* of France—those brave champions with their long lances and famous swords, which were so individually famous as even to bear names—were to disappear. And those acts of personal prowess, which had nourished so brave and high-spirited a temper among men, were to become of no avail, before the arquebuse of the Swiss mercenary, the dreaded horse-pistols of the Reisters, or the thunder of the artillery. Mechanical force began to decide the fate of war, and chivalry yielded to strategy.

But this change in the independent feelings of the highest class, had not as yet, it will be found, extended to the less noble orders. The magistrature, the bourgeoisie, the merchants, the trades, preserved their freedom and importance in the state, while the whole superincumbent weight seems to have fallen upon the lowest class, the rural population, and what it is now the fashion in France to call the *proletaires*, and who were at that time characterised by a writer as, "*le peuple taillable et corvéable à merci.*"

Since the fourteenth century the intermediate class between the nobles and the people had been regularly rising in importance, and among the magistrature, the confréries of advocates, and the professors of the canon and civil law, were found some few of the most enlightened of those who supported Reform;[1] but who, desirous it should take rise rather from within than from without the church, demanded a general council. The majority, however, both in the magistrature and universities, with the spirit but too often observable in communities so con-

[1] Capefigue, Hist. de la Reforme.

stituted, obstinately clung to the long received corruptions, and resisted the spirit of improvement with all the pertinacity belonging to the system, and with all the ferocious barbarity proper to the criminal jurisprudence of the age.

The organization of the great cities in France, which in those days were a form of society totally distinct from that of the country, is described by Capefigue so briefly and distinctly, that I think it better to make use of his own words here, than supply them by any of my own.

The organization of the great cities in France, he tells us, was, in all important respects, formed upon the same model. "The communes, properly so called, had everywhere yielded to the system of Mayors and Prevôts, arranged by the ordonnances of Louis the Eleventh. The right of election, however, had been preserved. The bourgeois had also their arms, their captains elected by themselves; their police, their chains, their barricades, their treasure, and their Maison commune. The privileges of the walled towns were still more extensive. They had the right of closing their gates against all *archers, pillards*, and *arquebusiers*. And the King himself could not penetrate within the walls of most of these fenced cities with his troops or his standards flying, without the express consent of the municipality. To this vast aggregation of municipal bodies must be added a multitude of private *confèrries*, (brotherhoods,) with their own individual rights and privileges. The people were thus broken into a thousand little societies, protected by their ancient charters, and having each their guards, their patron, and their banner. The masters of all these communities, proud of their colours, and of their ancient prerogatives, marched in the grand processions—appeared on Sundays, the days of their *Monstre* or review, in arms, with pistol

and arquebusse, and elected their own Captains, *Dixainiers* and *Centeniers*." Each trade had a magistrate of its own choosing; and were judged by their *prud'hommes*. "What proud fellows were the carpenters, the spinners, the butchers in all their glory! They were more powerful in their own towns than many gentlemen upon their *manoirs;* more especially when they perorated at the Halles, or on the Place de Grève, where all the assembled confréries were accustomed to meet for their deliberations."

M. Capefigue, who has so industriously examined ancient monuments and manuscripts, adds, in a note addressed to those interested in such matters, an invitation to examine the curious *livre des bannières* in the archives of the prefecture of police at Paris.[1]

The King sent his *mandement d'elire* to the sixteen *Quarteniers*, who were the principal magistrates; these called to themselves the *Cinquantiers*, the *Dixainiers*, and eight of the most important of the bourgeois, who named the *Échevins*. The election was made by voice, and the scrutiny was carefully verified by the *Quartenier* present, who was eligible himself to the place of *Échevin*, provided he was an inhabitant of Paris. That great city had four-and-twenty municipal councillors, of whom seven were chosen among the most considerable of the bourgeoisie; seven from among the dealers, not mechanics; and ten from among the officers of the courts of justice, *maîtres de requêtes*, and so on. This ordonnance of Henry the Second somewhat limited the rights of election which had before this been more popular, but which were restored to their full extent in the days of the League.

The political influence of the town of Paris is, however,

[1] The mode of election of the municipal officers at Paris, as regulated by an edict of Henry the Second, may be taken as a type of the system pursued in the other large towns.

very observable even in the days of Henry the Second. The King communicated directly to the municipality the bulletins of his battles; the *garde bourgeoise* mounted guard at the gates and upon the ramparts; the Town Council had absolute authority in matters of police; the different officers were answerable for the behaviour of the people in their quarter of the town; the masters of the *métiers*, for all those who followed their banner. At Lyons, Marseilles, Toulouse, the same privileges existed, though, as we shall find, the officers bore somewhat different titles—such as Consuls, Capitulaires, &c.

At this period what was the real progress of the Reform? Amid the population, as yet, no public assembly of the religious had been allowed; nor, such was the unrestrained violence of the people, would have been possible: yet the opinions had secretly diffused themselves to such an extent, that it is calculated that one-seventeenth part of the population of France, to say the least, had embraced them. At Paris the people, commonly so called, were Catholic to the highest degree of fanaticism; but the Reform had made considerable progress among the more learned bodies. At Meaux and Orleans the new opinions had diffused themselves among the generality. The Duchy of Burgundy, in spite of the neighbourhood of Switzerland and Germany, was, as yet, very little under their influence. In Lyons the old superstitions prevailed; and *Notre Dame de la Montagne de Fourriere* was still the object of the pious pilgrimages of the weavers of silk, and embroiderers of gold stuffs. But, in the neighbourhood, all the country which extended to the Rhone, with the fortified castles which crowned their steeps, swarmed with the Calvinists. In Provence the zeal of the population, their devotion in the worship of the Virgin and the Saints, and the numbers of their pious *confréries*, rivalled

those of Spain herself. In Languedoc again, the old traditions of the Albigenses still inclined the people to embrace heartily the Reform; and, in Navarre, as we have said, it was openly professed. Proceeding northward, Brittany was still in its ancient faith, unmoved by what was going on around; Anjou, and that part of the kingdom, "infected with these novelties;" Normandy divided into two parties in religion; and Picardy inclined to follow the example of Flanders.

To resume; the Duke of Guise and the members of the House of Lorraine, placed themselves at once at the head of the high Catholic persecuting party, and entered into understandings with Spain; while the Princes of the blood, and the family of the Colignys were, from persuasion, principle, a generous love of liberty, and abhorrence of this barbarous oppression, devoted to the Reform. We have no reason to suppose that they had at present any direct friendly communication with any of the foreign Protestant powers, but we shall soon find them driven by necessity to seek assistance from without, where and how they could.

## CHAPTER III.

PROCEEDINGS UPON THE DEATH OF HENRY THE SECOND. — USURPATIONS OF THE LORRAINES.—GENERAL DISCONTENTS.

SUCH was the aspect of things, when the sudden death of Henry the Second brought, as we have seen, all the jarring elements of which his court and kingdom consisted, into collision.

The Reformed Churches were now secretly but firmly united by the system of their internal government, and the party, notwithstanding the resolute and unsparing principles of persecution which had been adopted, was rapidly becoming far too powerful to be longer restrained by any authority in which they did not themselves acquiesce. Under the intolerable severity with which they had been treated, they had for some time begun to cast their eyes around for relief; but, true to the principles of submission which their religion inculcated, they were most anxious it should be legitimately and peaceably obtained. The death of Henry the Second appeared to afford the means of securing both these objects.

This expectation was founded upon that fundamental principle of the French monarchy, which permits the first prince of the blood to expect at all times to assist in, and influence the councils of the kingdom; but more especially entitles him to administer, as head of the government, in all cases of minority or other incapacity of the crown. This right, violence or intrigue had often set aside, but the principle remained undisputed, it was

an acknowledged maxim; and to it the Protestants looked for relief under their present miserable circumstances,—for Anthony of Navarre, and his brother, the Prince de Condé, first princes of the blood, were attached to the Reform.

On the death of Henry, it is said, Catherine hesitated some few days what course to pursue, and which of the contending factions to espouse; but the popularity and power of the Guises, the influence which, through Mary Stuart, they were sure to possess over the young King, and, more than all, the immediate sacrifice on their part of her detested rival, the Duchess of Valentinois, (on whom, during the life of Henry, they had lavished every mark of respect and affection,) united to a long concealed enmity which she had nourished against the Constable, combined to decide her. She united herself, therefore, at once, and, to all outward appearance, cordially with their party, though it is certain she always felt a secret jealousy of their power, and even thus early, kept up an understanding with the Admiral and the chiefs of the opposite faction.

The King of Navarre was, unfortunately, at this critical moment, at Pau; but the Constable had immediately written to urge his return without delay to Court; he travelled, however, slowly, and had as yet only reached Vendôme. The Constable himself was engaged in conducting the funeral obsequies of the late King. This ceremony which belonged in right to his office, according to the customs then prevalent, occupied him thirty-five days, during which it was not considered decent to quit the body, or hold communication with any one: the field, therefore, remained open to the Lorraines and their allies, enabling them to make such impressions as they pleased upon the mind of the young King, to secure the

charges they intended to occupy, and thus lay the necessary foundation for their future proceedings.

In concert with the Queen-Mother, De l' Aubespine was sent to demand the late King's seal from the Constable. The Cardinal de Lorraine was then appointed superintendent of the finances; the Duke of Guise had the war department confided to him; and other officers were appointed; so that, while the Constable was shut up engaged in the duties of his office, and before the arrival of the King of Navarre, the whole frame of the government was arranged. The entire power of the crown was thus lodged in the hands of this ambitious family, who, according to Capefigue, had made it their principle to endeavour to recover in France that which they had lost in Anjou and Provence in anterior times.

To such an arrangement it was not to be expected that the proud and tenacious Constable would tamely submit; but the time of his absence had been well employed in alienating the mind of the young King from this ancient servant of his father. It was no very difficult matter to excite the jealousy of Francis against one whom he was taught to regard as a harsh, self-willed, obstinate old man; who long accustomed to govern, and, regarding his sovereign as a mere child, would dispute his authority upon every occasion.

When, therefore, the Constable—the funeral ceremonies being over—presented himself before his new master, he received a complete, though speciously-motived dismissal from Court; and, concealing his chagrin in the best manner he could, found himself obliged to retire to his house at Chantilly. Montmorenci thus set aside, the next object was to remove the Prince de Condé, whose claims, talents, and undisguised enmity, made him, in spite of his poverty, extremely formidable. He was accordingly

appointed ambassador to the Low Countries, on a mission to confirm the peace and new alliance with Spain, an employment which carried him immediately into Flanders. But honourable as was the employment, he set out insulted and offended by the miserable appointments offered for the embassy—one thousand gold crowns being all that was allowed upon such an occasion to the second prince of the blood.[1]

Under various pretences the Guises next contrived to clear the ground of all other persons likely to interfere with their pretensions; and when the deputies from the Parliament of Paris came, according to custom, to congratulate the King upon his accession, asking to whom it was his good pleasure they should in future address themselves, in order to receive his commands; his Majesty answered, that, with the approbation of his mother, he had given the entire charge of his government to his uncles the Duke de Guise and the Cardinal de Lorraine, under the general superintendence of the Queen-Mother.[2]

The Guises had indeed strengthened themselves by forming an administration composed of the most able, influential, or popular men that could be attached to their party.

To conciliate public opinion, Francis Olivier, a man of high reputation, but, till now, in general esteem for his tolerant notions in regard to religion, was fatally persuaded to accept the seals under men of religious and political principles so widely differing from his own; while, on the other hand, as an earnest of the spirit in which it was intended to proceed, the Cardinal de Tournon took his seat at the council table. The Maréchal de St.

[1] Mézeray, Hist. de France. [2] Davila, Guerre Civile di Francia.

André, a nobleman of a brave spirit and aspiring mind, but lost in prodigality and debauchery, to shelter himself from his creditors—many of whom had confided to him large sums—was also persuaded to join their party;[1] and he offered his daughter and the reversion of his immense possessions, acquired by confiscations and crimes, to the eldest son of the Duke of Guise. Thus it appeared evident from the first, that the Lorraines had determined to exclude the Princes of the blood, and every member of the opposite faction, from the slightest participation in the government.

No wise man could regard with indifference, irresponsible power lodged in such hands; no spirited man could rest satisfied under so insolent an assumption of superiority; no ambitious one submit to so complete an exclusion from affairs. The apprehensions of Coligny; the animosity of Condé; the jealousies of Montmorenci and Navarre, were at once excited.[2]

The discontented nobles appear to have lost no time in consulting upon the measures in the present dilemma to be pursued. Their first step was to hold a conference at Vendôme; a town belonging to the King of Navarre, which Anthony, who had left Bearn too tardily for his interests, was passing through upon his way to Court. There he was met by Condé, the Admiral and the Cardinal de Chatillon, the Comte de la Rochefoucault, the Vidâme de Chartres, the Prince de Porcian, and D'Ardouin, secretary to the Constable, who attended on the part of his master. Most anxious deliberations were now held, as to the best means of opposing a power which threatened to annihilate the rights and privileges of the Princes of the blood, and of all who were attached to their interests. Every one was agreed as to the im-

[1] Mem. de Castlenau, additions of Le Laboureur. [2] De Thou.

portance of the crisis and the necessity for immediate exertion, but they differed as to the means to be adopted. Condé, D'Andelot, and the Vidâme de Chartres, were for an immediate recourse to arms, to force "these foreigners" from the vicinity of the throne; but Navarre, Coligny, and D'Ardouin, opposed such proceedings warmly. Coligny remarked that the King, young as he was, having attained his legal majority, the right to name his own ministers was unquestionably vested in him. Positive claim, therefore, on the part of the Princes of the blood to a regency there was none; but he held out a hope that by the exercise of the secret influence which he and many of his party held over the Queen-Mother, and by the demonstration of a formidable union among themselves, the Guises might at least be induced to use their power with moderation; and perhaps peaceably to surrender to the Princes of the blood and their immediate adherents, some portion of that authority, which, undivided in their hands, occasioned such just apprehensions.

It was finally resolved that the King of Navarre should proceed upon his journey to the Court; and there, in his capacity of first Prince of the blood, endeavour to force upon the comprehension of the King the views and resolutions of himself and his friends: striving, by a prudent and yet energetic representation, to obtain for himself a proper share of influence in the government; and for the Prince de Condé and his party such offices and dignities as their rank and consequence entitled them to expect. It was also agreed that he should urgently demand the immediate assembly of the States-General of the kingdom; that, being regarded by all as the only effectual remedy for the disorders and divisions rapidly spreading around.[1]

Unfortunately Anthony of Navarre was entirely want-

[1] Davila, Guerre Civile di Francia.

ing in the decision and firmness of character necessary for the conduct of such a negotiation. "He set out upon his journey," Davila tells us, "his mind already shaken and intimidated by the magnitude of the affairs confided to him; and the reception he met with at Court completed his discomfiture."

The Guises well knew how to deal with a character of his stamp; and he was received, upon his arrival at St. Germains, with a series of petty affronts eminently calculated to depress a vain and uncertain man.

"Being come near to the Court, he sent his *fourriers* to prepare his apartments, who were not a little displeased to find no quarters allotted to their master such as became his rank—and still less for his suite. But as those Guises felt sure that he would resent nothing properly, they cared little enough for his officers, *ainsi les renvoyèrent avec paroles hautaines*—the Duke de Guise saying, that it should cost him his own life, and that of ten thousand men besides, before he would surrender the apartments which the King had allotted him (*lui avait baillé*) near his person. *Et ainsi ne craignoient ceux de Guise de faire connaître leur autorité avec mépris du Navarrois.*"

"The kings of France, in their greatness, have this custom, that, wishing to favour any prince or great lord, they, knowing the hour they are expected, go courteously to meet them, under pretence of hunting that way—and so chance upon them by accident, as it were—*ce qui est estimé pour l'un des plus grands honneurs et faveurs.* For, before all the Court, the King returns with them engaged in loving conversation. But nothing of all this was done for the King of Navarre. The Duke of Guise took care to lead the hunt in quite a contrary direction; and so the King of Navarre arrived at the château, *sans que*

*nul lui fût au devant de tous les courtisans.* And he found his lodging so little prepared, that all his trunks and boxes were scattered about the courtyard. Having dismounted, he went straight to the Queen-Mother, with whom was the Cardinal de Lorraine, who moved not one step to meet him or greet him; and when he had made his devoirs to the Queen, he looked at him in the most haughty fashion: at which people were astonished—*d'autant plus qu'ils n'attendoient rien moins que ce prince ne voulût s'abbaisser, même au temps qu'il devoit au moins commander à tous.*"[1]

The young King, whose mind had been poisoned by a thousand jealousies, steadily refused to grant Navarre an audience, unless in the presence of his uncles. All his demands were peremptorily rejected, and he was not even invited to take that place at the board of the Council of government, which had never yet been denied to one of his pretensions.

Far from resenting these affronts with the spirit which the occasion demanded, Navarre met them with a meanness which disgusted his friends and encouraged his adversaries. He endeavoured to conciliate the haughty Lorraines by the most obsequious advances; and, when Francis, at one of their interviews, maintained that he had a right to nominate his own ministers, and declared his perfect satisfaction with the proceedings of those he had appointed, Navarre was contemptible enough to express his approbation. "People were astonished," continues La Planche, "to see this prince demean himself so greatly when he ought to have dictated to all; and many gentlemen among his followers were so greatly displeased, *cuidans que ce fut faute de cœur*, that they for the most part quitted him and returned to Paris,"[2] whither Na-

[1] Mem. de Vieilleville. [2] Regnier de la Planche.

varre, finding his situation becoming more and more intolerable, soon after followed them.

At Paris he was joined by Condé, and, under the influence of his spirited brother, he made some efforts to strengthen himself by forming a party in the Parliament, and ingratiating himself with the people; apparently with some success—for we find him, upon occasion of the King's coronation at Rheims—when he felt supported by the presence of the principal nobility of his party,—not only establishing his claim to a seat in the Council, but loudly demanding the States-General.

New measures were therefore necessary to drive him from the field. Accordingly, a letter was read to the board in his presence, purporting to be from Philip of Spain, (who thus early was allowed to begin his ill-omened interference in French affairs,) wherein that monarch, grounding the pretext upon those disputes which had long subsisted between Spain and Navarre with respect to the territory south of the Pyrenees, insisted upon the total exclusion of Anthony from any share whatsoever in the French government. And he threatened, in case Navarre persisted in his demand, to occupy Bearn and his remaining territories with a Spanish army, and attach them at once to his own dominions. These menaces, concerted no doubt between the two governments, produced their full effect upon this timid and selfish spirit. Unconditional submission was the only course which presented itself to his terrified imagination, and he adopted at once the hypocritical advice of the Queen-Mother. She, affecting to lament the perils to which he was exposed, "through the youthful impatience of others," counselled him to accept the honourable office now offered to him—that of conducting the Princess Isabella to her new kingdom of Spain. She told him he would thus probably obtain a personal

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interview with Philip, which might lead to the security, not only of his present possessions, but to the recovery of that portion of his dominions beyond the Pyrenees, the loss of which lay so near the hearts both of himself and his Queen.

Navarre eagerly swallowed the bait, and, deaf to the representations, and indifferent to the indignation of his friends, set forward to conduct the gentle and lovely Princess to the country of that gloomy tyrant to whom she was consigned.

There was, however, not the least intention on the part of the French Court to advance his interests. Philip had not the slightest idea of granting a personal interview. The Duke of Alva received the Queen at Roncesvalles, and gave Navarre clearly to understand, that his only chance of success in his demands upon Spain rested upon his total relinquishment of any share in the present government of France. Navarre, absorbed in his personal concerns, now abandoned every other consideration, and, returning quietly to Bearn, resolved to interfere no further in what was going on: but sacrificed, without remorse, to his private views all those great public interests he was bound, alike by prudence and honour, to maintain.

Thus the first chance of a peaceable arrangement of affairs was at an end.

The evil effects of the selfish secession of Navarre were but too speedily manifested by the increased audacity and violence of the administration. The Cardinal, no longer under any restraint, gave a loose to his insolent and cruel temper; and the adverse party soon found that they were to look not only for a system of complete exclusion, but of unsparing oppression; not only every occasion for advancement was to be denied, but they must soon expect to be stripped of those possessions and dignities which they had already acquired.

The charge of Grand Master, (anciently Maire du Palais,) much coveted on account of the facilities which it afforded for approaching the person of the King—was wrested by the Duke of Guise from Montmorenci: while the Prince de Condé was disappointed in his expectation of succeeding Coligny in the government of Picardy,—which government the Admiral had resigned, with the understanding that it should be bestowed upon his friend, his poverty rendering some lucrative employment almost necessary to his existence.

It will easily be imagined how these, and proceedings of the like nature, served to exasperate the rising quarrel. The Guises, meanwhile, with inexplicable imprudence, furnishing the powerful and deeply-offended chiefs with friends and supporters in every province of the kingdom. Disorder in the finances seems to be the invariable forerunner of approaching ruin, both in states and private families; not only from the weakness and embarrassment which is its invariable attendant, but from the habit of vicious laxity which it supposes. Such causes of embarrassment were not wanting here. The senseless profusion of Henry the Second had reduced his finances to the most deplorable condition; and at his death, the royal coffers were not only empty, but the government found itself burdened with a debt of 48,000,000 livres—a sum enormous for the time.[1]

The Cardinal of Lorraine was no sooner invested with his new office, than he found himself beset with clamorous demands, which it was impossible to satisfy. "The Venetians claimed an excessive sum; the Swiss troops clamoured for their arrears of pay; the bankers called in their advances."[2]

Multitudes belonging to that large and ill-paid army,

[1] Mézeray, De Thou. [2] Brantôme, Hommes Illust.

which was disbanded in consequence of the peace, and now turned loose upon the country, daily besieged the Court with claims for arrears or recompenses, difficult to answer, and dangerous to resist. "What could the King and his councillors do," asks Brantôme, "under such circumstances?"

The expedient the Cardinal adopted was strange and daring, and gives a frightful specimen of the irregular proceedings of a time, when such a measure could have been ventured upon; and, as Garnier remarks,[1] if the fact did not rest upon undoubted authority, it would be impossible to credit it. He ordered several gibbets to be erected close to the Castle of St. Germains, and caused it to be proclaimed three times by sound of trumpet, "That all captains, soldiers, men of war, or others, who were there to demand their money, should quit the place without delay, on pain of being hanged without form of process, upon one or other of these erections."

The exasperation excited by this proclamation among these fierce bands of veterans was excessive, and not to be allayed by all the courtesy and kindness with which the Duke of Guise endeavoured to temper its effect. They dispersed, it is true; "but," as says D'Aubigné, "*cherchant à etre mis en besogne;*"[2] and Brantôme, in his way, tells us, "This fine proclamation, and the discontent thence arising, with the *pretext* of religion, mainly contributed to help forward the conspiracy of Amboise."

What Brantôme, looking upon it with the eye of a soldier, calls the *pretext* of religion, was a deep-rooted determination, upon the part of the Reformed, to resist insupportable oppression. The desperate situation in which they found themselves placed on the death of Henry, has been briefly described. The last edict upon the subject of

[1] Garnier, Hist. de France. [2] D'Aubigné Hist. Universelle.

religion had been issued shortly before that event,[1] from Ecouen, being little other than a republication of the edict bearing date 1551, and which it seemed intended to revive. This edict of Ecouen "was published and verified by all the parliaments," says Carloix, "and by it the judges were constrained to condemn all the Lutherans to death, without limitation or modification whatsoever—*being expressly forbidden to diminish the pains of it*, as they had lately been in the habit of doing." The death of the late King had offered some faint hope of a relaxation of these dreadful provisions, but that hope proved worse than groundless. An understanding, which would in the opposite party have been stigmatised, and justly stigmatised, as the worst of treasons, had already taken place between the Lorraines and Philip of Spain. In this most unholy contract it had been stipulated, that Philip should support the ascendancy of their house in France, provided the power so acquired was exerted in aid of his almost insane determination to root out heresy from the face of the earth; and those dreadful maxims of government adopted which he was carrying out with such dire effect in his own dominions. Extermination, in fact, formed the basis of the policy adopted with respect to the Reformed, who, far from experiencing that relief which they had fondly expected, only beheld the most appalling dangers surrounding them on every side.[2]

Sept. 4th. A declaration was published forbidding private assemblies for the purposes of religion, "*on pain of death;*"[3] and ordering all houses and conventicles where such were held, to be razed from the ground. The letters-patent which accompanied this declaration, carried, "That all persons having knowledge of such illicit assemblies,

[1] Mem. de Castlenau, additions of Le Labourcur.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

who should fail to *reveal them*, should be subjected to similar pains and penalties with those who attended them. "And whosoever shall first make revelation of such things shall be pardoned, and receive payment of one hundred crowns; and such informer be carefully protected from all injuries, oppressions, and molestations, which may from thence to him ensue."[1]

This declaration was followed upon the 14th of November by an edict to the same effect, which was registered in the Parliament of Paris, and which was more especially intended to prevent any possible remission of the penalties. "Whoever shall be present at a private assembly," such are the terms, "shall be put to death without hope of modification of punishment."[2]

To those who considered religion with the deep earnestness which then characterised the Calvinists of France, and who looked upon the obligation of its exercise with the seriousness of men whose best hopes in a future world rested upon their fulfilment of such obligation—the dismay occasioned by this inquisition into their religious privacy may be conceived.

By this cruel edict the greatest secrecy, the most sedulous desire to avoid any breach of the public peace, or scandal to the public eye, were rendered of no avail. To abandon the exercise of their religion was, according to their principles, to forsake the most vital of duties and obligations; and the only alternative now presented to them was death, and in its most fearful form. "These edicts were published throughout the kingdom," says Carloix, "and the magistrates made great inquisitions and pursuits against the Protestants, more especially in the city of Paris, to give example and a rule, as it were, to the other cities in the kingdom. Moreover, the judges

[1] Mem. de Castlenau, additions of Le Laboureur, 41, 188. [2] Ibid.

ordered punishments at their own discretion, and often exceeded against the Protestants what was allowed by the edicts, according as zeal for religion, or private passion dictated."

New chambers were erected in each Parliament for the purpose of carrying these atrocious laws into execution. "They were called *chambres ardentes*,"[1] says Mézeray, "because they burned without mercy every one they convicted;" no other proof being necessary but that of having been present at a secret nocturnal assembly. "The President Ménard, and the Inquisitor Democharès laboured with the most persevering violence in Paris, seeking out in obscure garrets and cellars their victims, on the information of their spies."[2]

To justify these violences in the eyes of the public, those inventions were made use of, which, from the earliest days of Christianity, have served to calumniate religious meetings, the secrecy of which has been rendered necessary by unjust persecution. The Calvinists were accused of sacrificing little children; of *substituting swine's flesh for that of the Paschal Lamb*, (a singular accusation against a Christian assembly,) and other equally incredible and most abominable practices. Two wretched creatures, goldsmiths by trade, were brought before the Council of Government and deposed to having been present at the house of a certain advocate, named Trouilhard, when every sort of licentious enormity was practised. They were interrupted by the Chancellor Olivier, who easily detected the falsehood of such calumnies, and perceived that the witnesses had been instructed by a certain *Curé*. Nevertheless, these falsehoods were adopted without hesitation by the government, and used as an excuse for fresh cruelties.

[1] Mez. Hist. de Fr.

[2] Mem. de Castlenau, additions of Le Laboureur. From the most notorious of these, *Mouchi*, the spies were called *Mouchards*, modern *Mouches*.

In a letter addressed by the King to the Parliament, it is said, "*L'on ne sauroit assez inventer de peines*"—Pains cannot be invented severe enough to punish these sectaries.[1]

The most private recesses of families were not secure; houses were broken open upon the slightest suspicion; and whole households dragged through the streets of Paris to prison, and from prison to the flames, "*et à aucuns on coupait la langue, de peur qu'en mourant, ils ne donassent au peuple impression de leur doctrine*," says Carloix, who, it ought to be remembered, was a Catholic.[2]

[1] Trouilhard and his family were cast into prison, where, in spite of the discovery of their innocence, they continued to languish several years.

[2] Of the barbarity of these executions it is impossible to give an idea, unless, like Beza in his Histoire des Eglises, I were to relate in detail the series of these horrible executions. The *balançoire* was commonly used, the stake not being barbarous enough; slow fires, mutilations, tortures ordinary and extraordinary, of the severity of which an idea may be formed by looking into Dumas' Crimes Célèbres. Men are tortured till they can no longer stand at the stake where they are to expire, and their tongues cut out, lest their piety should awaken the pity of the bystanders. I feel, in spite of my earnest desire to represent this quarrel in its true light, that I have altogether failed in doing justice, either to the heroic patience with which the reformed still continued—in compliance with the principles of the Gospel, to abstain from the slightest breach of the peace in self-defence—or the dreadful habits of cruelty which, at that time, pervaded a people—*educated* by the Catholic Church—from the highest to the lowest. "En cette manière," says Beza, speaking of Paris, for instance, "le peuple de Paris composé pour la plupart d'une multitude ignorante, ramassée de toutes nations; gouvernée à l'appetit de ceux qui la remuent, fut mis en une rage extrême, ne cherchant que les occasions d'executer ce qui leur avait été mis aux oreilles pour les echauffer à toute cruauté." . . . . He mentions an instance of a man who, quarrelling with another man, called him *Lutheran*, upon which the people fell furiously upon him, and pursued him to a church, where he took refuge. A gentleman passing by, named St. Martin, shocked at this cruelty, entered the church, and began to remonstrate; when a priest called out he deserved the same fate, as he dared to defend a Lutheran, upon which the people fell upon *him*, and upon his brother who interfered in his defence. The priest turning them out of the church into the midst of the infuriated concourse: the one, covered with wounds, escaped to a neighbouring house; but the other was massacred. "C'était un pauvre prieur nullement instruit en la religion . . . . . montrait toute signe à ce peuple qu'il étoit de l'église Romaine mais il n'y avait aucun raison en cette bête furieuse et enragée . . . il n'y avait si petit qui ne lui bailla son coup: et mettaient même leurs mains dedans les plaies, puis les essuyaient, se glorifiant de les avoir teintes du sang d'un Lutherien . . . . Si quelqu'un plus pitoyable avançait quelques mots de compassion il etoit incontinent accoutré de toutes façons . . . bref c'était un chose horrible de voir. A Saint Eustache un de nos moines surnommé l'âme de feu Pi-

The very children, so violent was the persecution, were accustomed to discourse of martyrdom as of a familiar thing; and to arm their young minds reciprocally to meet the approaching trial.[1]

"These judges and robbers in one," says Regnier de la Planche,[2] speaking of the persecutors, "extended their pursuits into every quarter of the town. If those suspected left their houses, such good account was given of their property by the officers of justice, that it was who should boast of the greatest plunder—*qui se vanteroit d'avoir le mieux butiné.* Paris was traversed by troops of armed men on foot or horseback, dragging men, women, and children of all conditions, to prison; the streets were so filled with carts laden with furniture—*farcies de meubles*—that it was difficult to pass; the corners and alleys being choked with this booty exposed to sale. The houses were forsaken as at the sack of a town; poor men became rich, and rich men poor. But the most deplorable sight was to behold numbers of very young children abandoned upon the stones, crying for hunger with incredible lamentations, and perishing for want of a morsel of bread; no one daring to assist or shelter them for fear of falling into the same danger, *ainsi on en faisait moins de compte que des chiens, tant cette doctrine étoit odieux aux Parisiens.*"

"*Cette saison fut horrible de souffrances,*" says D'Aubigné, "nevertheless, the more they were punished, the more they multiplied; and were so obstinate in their

card, ne prêchait autre chose que sang et meurtre, et animaient les Parisiens à tuer, faisant de belles promesses a ceux qui s'y employaient .... etant advenu à un pauvre ecolier (venu là bien devotement pour ouir le sermon, de se rire d'un sien compagnon)—une vieille bigotte s'ecrie que c'était un Lutherien—le peuple se jette dessous ... et le massacrent. La chose demeura impunie."—Beza, Hist. des Eglises.

[1] See the life of D'Aubigné where he mentions his own feelings when a child.

[2] Regnier de la Planche.

religion, that the greater the determination to make them die for it, the more was their resolution to persevere.[1]

The execution of Anne du Bourg, the treacherous circumstances of whose arrest have been related in the first chapter, occasioned, perhaps, a greater sensation than all this multitude of inferior sacrifices. A sacredness attached to his character as member of the highest court of justice, the violation of which excited universal dismay. He was executed about Christmas, first strangled and his body burned; after a trial in which he displayed the utmost constancy, refusing to shelter himself by legal prevarications from the consequences of that simple declaration of his opinions which he had deemed it right to make.[2] "He is entitled," says a French author, "to rank as the most lamented among the innumerable victims of that system of intolerance adopted by the legislation of the age."

As if to increase the general desperation, the Assembly

[1] Various were the methods employed to raise a spirit of fanaticism among the lower orders in Paris. A custom still common in Catholic countries then had its rise: "Images were placed in the corners of the streets, crowned with flowers and with tapers burning before them; round these the people assembled, singing their litanies, and if any refused to worship they were beaten, dragged in the dirt, and sometimes carried to prison."—Mézeray, D'Aubigné.

De Thou tells us of one Vistome, with his wife, aged father, and little children, being led to prison; it was in Lent, and a capon and some meat which had been found in the larder were carried before them, to impress the people with the idea that indulgence in gluttony was a leading motive with the followers of Reform.

[2] The following version of the 40th Psalm was attributed to Du Bourg at the time, and, whether exactly genuine or not, may serve as an example of the opinions for which he suffered.

Chanson spirituelle d'Anne du Bourg, conseiller du roi en parlement, étant és lieux pour soutenir la parole de Dieu, et pour laquelle il souffrit constamment la mort à Paris, Sur le chant du Psaume 40.

Gens insensés, où avez vous les cœurs
De faire guerre à Jesus Christ?
Pour soutenir cet ante-Christ
Jusques à quand serez persécuteurs?
Traitres abominables,
Le service des diables
Vous allez soutenant;
Et de Dieu les édits
Par vous sont interdits
A tout homme vivant.
N'empechez plus la prédication
De la parole et vive voix
De notre Dieu le Roi des rois,
Ou autrement sa malédiction
Sur vous verre zestendre
Et vous fera déscendre
Aux enfers ténébreux.

Sismondi. Capefigue.

of the States-General, to which all looked as to the only chance for relief, against the tyranny of the Lorraines, was imperiously denied. Even to propose it being declared high treason, as implying an attempt to infringe upon the legitimate authority of the King.

The universal ferment thus excited manifested itself first through the press; which had already become a most efficient engine in the disputes of the times. "France teemed," says D'Aubigné, "with libels and apologies, all printed without privilege; some treating of the ancient institutions of the kingdom; some of successions, of the administration of Kings minor, of regencies, &c. In these various remedies were proposed. On the one hand, the Assembly of the States-General, to which assembly the guardianship of the King, by the old customs of the kingdom, of right belonged, was advocated. On the other, nothing less was spoken of than the execution of the Princes who favoured the Reform — while some again openly attacked the Lorraines, exclaiming against their tyranny, and denouncing the domination of foreigners and of a woman. The kingdom resounded with apologies, invectives, replies, and rejoinders."[1]

In the "Memoires de Condé," numbers of the original pamphlets are preserved. The principal question agitated was, whether so young a monarch possessed the right of excluding from his councils the Princes of the blood, "his legal regents and guardians, in favour of foreigners."

But speculations more general and daring may be found among them, marking the excursive and questioning spirit of the age. A book entitled "*Defenses contre les Tyrans,*" is mentioned by D'Aubigné as greatly contributing to reconcile men's minds to the Conspiracy of Amboise.

[1] Memoires de Condé, D'Aubigné Hist. Un.

It treated on the limits of obedience to Kings; on the causes which justify the assumption of arms; and on the cases in which the assistance of foreign Princes may be legitimately demanded. It was written by Hubert Languet.

The Lorraines were not slow in endeavouring to repress these general manifestations of a hostile spirit; and with such severity, that even Davila, with all his prejudices, confesses that the Protestants were absolutely forced upon measures of self-defence. "*Essere dello disperazione condotti a desiderio, anzi a necessitá, il ésporsi a qualunque futuro periglio, per liberarsi della durezza della condizione presente.*"

The churches had, however, by this time become very numerous. They were organized upon a system which rendered them, scattered though they were throughout the nation, capable of a union which might render them seriously formidable, if once their scruples upon the subject of resistance were overcome.

Paris, Orleans, Chartres, Senlis, Poictiers, Meaux, Angers, Rouen, Blois, &c. The large towns on the other side the Loire and Garonne, as Toulouse, Rhodez, Marseilles, Frejus, Sisteron, Nismes, &c. So that even in the single county of Provence alone, Beza enumerates sixty Churches.

And says he, "the year 1559, which ended the life of King Henry II., found no abatement of the persecutions so long ago begun, and so long persisted in: that shameful and most injurious peace having been made between the two kings, with the deliberate determination of exterminating all the Reformed churches, principally at the instigation of the two cardinals; De Granvelle on the part of Spain, who managed all the affairs of the Low Countries, and the Cardinal de Lorraine on that of France. But God had otherwise disposed it, being certain that nothing has

served more effectually to advance the cause of the churches, than the turbulent and impetuous spirit which actuated these two cardinals.[1]

"For, whatever difficulties presented themselves to the unhappy faithful, they never lost courage; but at this very time, (that is to say the 26th May, 1559,) by the singular grace of God, deputies from all the churches assembled at Paris, and agreed, with one accord, upon a Confession of Faith; and upon a system of ecclesiastical discipline, arranged as nearly according to the institution of the Apostles, as the state of the times would bear."

Of this Confession of Faith consisting of forty articles, thirty-three relate to religious doctrine, a subject upon which it is not my intention to touch; the two last articles I shall here insert, it being necessary to show how little the Reformed merited the stigma endeavoured to be cast upon them by their adversaries, as insubordinate members of society and disturbers of the public peace.

"Art. 39.—Nous croyons que Dieu veut que le monde soit gouverné par lois et policés, afin qu'il y ait quelques brides pour réprimer les appétits desordonnés du monde, et ainsi qu'il a etabli les royaumes, républiques, et toutes sortes de principautés . . . . . et tout ce qui appartient à l'état de justice: et en veut être reconnu l'auteur. A cette cause, il a mis la glaive en la main des magistrats pour reprimer les pêchés commis. . . . . Il faut donc à cause de Lui que non seulement on endure que les supérieurs dominent, mais aussi qu'on les honore et prise en toute révérence, les tenants pour ses lieutenants et officiers, qu'il a commis pour exercer une charge légitime et sainte.

"Art. 40.—Nous tenons donc qu'il faut obéir à leurs lois et statuts, payer tributs, impôts, et autres devoirs, et porter le joug de subjection d'une bonne et franche volonté

[1] Beza, Hist. des Eglises.

encore qu'ils fussent infidéles, moyennant que l'empire de Dieu demeure en son entier. Par ainsi nous détestons ceux qui voudraient rejeter les superiorités, mettre communauté en confusion de biens, et renverser l'ordre de justice. Matthew, xvii, 24. Acts of the Apostles, vi, 17, 18, 19."

Such were the principles of non-resistance circulated among the churches by articles intended for their own private use alone; but which now at last began to give way before the violence of a government exercised by men, the legitimacy of whose authority was by most questioned, and by a very large party absolutely denied.

All other and less questionable means of relief being utterly despaired of, the Protestants were driven, in self-defence, to that last fatal resource of the oppressed, secret conspiracy.

The very name of conspiracy implies something so equivocal, so hostile to the genuine feelings of uprightness and truth, that we can scarcely avoid regarding it with aversion and suspicion. But all must confess that if any circumstances can be allowed to render it justifiable, they were all united here; and for this error, if error it were, and other errors of the hapless Protestants, let their Catholic persecutors be answerable under that just sentence of Manzoni:—"That the oppressor is not only to be held accountable for the misery he inflicts; but for all the effects of that violence of resistance which he most often excites in the victims of his oppression."

The wide spreading and formidable conspiracy which ensued is well known in French history as the conspiracy of Amboise.

## CHAPTER IV.

### CONSPIRACY OF AMBOISE.

Beza thus commences his relation of the Conspiracy of Amboise:—"These ways of proceeding so openly tyrannical, the menaces employed against the greatest men in the kingdom, the estrangement of all the great lords and princes of the country from the court and government, the contempt in which the States-General of the kingdom were held, the corruption of the powerful administrators of justice entirely at the devotion of the new governors, their administration of the finances and of all lucrative employments bestowed only upon their own creatures—in short, their violent and illegal government excited extraordinary hatred against them, and many great lords now began to rouse themselves as from slumber, and to rally in defence of the ancient and legitimate government of the kingdom.—The question being proposed to the most celebrated jurisconsults of Germany and France, as also to the most learned theologians, it was found, that they might legitimately oppose the usurped authority of the Guises, and take arms, if need were, to resist violence, provided that the Princes of the blood, in this case to be considered as "born magistrates," *(nés légitimes magistrats)*, or one or two of them, would undertake the matter; or better yet, at the petition of the States of France, or a wholesome portion of them. For to advertise the king of this, or his council, would be to apprise the very adversaries themselves, because that the King, to say nothing of his minority, was absolutely subject to

them; so that there was no means of reaching them (*leur faire procés*) by the ordinary way; and as for the Queen-Mother, she seemed to serve only to colour their enterprises. It was, therefore, necessary to seize upon their persons at any hazard, and then to assemble the States-General, to which they should render an account of their administration. This far being settled by common consent, three kinds of persons presented themselves as ready to engage in the affair. The first, moved by a righteous zeal to serve God, their prince, or their country; others, incited by ambition and greedy of change; others, urged by the thirst for vengeance upon injuries received on the part of the Guises, either in their own persons, or in those of their relations and friends—so that we need not marvel that there was confusion in the conduct, and a tragical termination to the enterprise."[1]

The object of this conspiracy was, therefore, to seize upon the person of the King, separate him from his iniquitous ministers, and place him in the hands of those whom the ancient customs of the realm and public opinion called to the administration. The names of the first originators and instigators of this scheme remain to this day uncertain; the Chatillons, Montmorenci, the Prince de Condé, the King of Navarre, the Queen-Mother herself, have all been named by different authors, and all have supported their assertions by plausible evidence. It is certain that D'Andelot, and the great and good Michel de l'Hôpital were concerned, for their names were found subscribed to the original plan of the enterprise, long in the possession of D'Aubigné.[2] De Thou

[1] Beza, Hist. des Eglises.

[2] De l'Hôpital homme de grand estime lui succéda (speaking of the Chancellor Olivier), quoique il eut été des conjurés pour le faict d'Amboise; ce que je maintiens contre tout ce que en a eté écrit, pour ce que l'original de l' entreprise fut consigné entre les mains de mon père, où etoit son seing tout du longue entre celui

makes no doubt that the *chef muet* was in reality the Prince de Condé. But that the other parties we have mentioned were even privy to the existence of the plot has never been proved; and, when their respective situations and characters are considered, and the evidence on both sides duly weighed, I think they must be discharged from any share, either of the blame or glory which may be attached to the enterprise.[1]

Towards the end of the year there certainly was a second secret meeting of the malcontent chiefs at La Ferté sur Jouarres; but it does not appear that this had any relation to the conspiracy, or that it in any manner entered into their deliberations.

The ostensible head and planner of this great enterprise was a man of no consideration,[2] a private gentleman of Perigord, by name Godefroi de Barry Seigneur de la Renaudie, an able and active spirit, rendered desperate by the loss of a vexatious lawsuit. In consequence of this he had been subjected to the disgrace and punishment attached to the crime of forgery; of which, however, there is little doubt that he had never been guilty. He had been heavily fined, and at last banished; but, as it is said, through the exertions of the Duke of Guise, the sentence had been reversed, and he had been suffered to return to France. "A man of a ready hand and an active spirit," to use the words of De Thou, "burning for re-

de D'Andelot et d'un Spifame—chose que j'ai fait voir à plusieurs personnes de marque.—Mem. D'Aubigné, liv. 1.

[1] Brantôme, on the authority of La Vigne, Secretary to La Renaudie, declares that the Admiral was kept entirely in ignorance, and gives as a reason that they dared not entrust the secret of an enterprise so audacious to one of his known prudence and caution. Tavannes, Mem., accuses the Queen-Mother herself of a share in the undertaking; and her subsequent conduct renders it not improbable that she would have looked with satisfaction upon any means of putting an end to that tyranny which extended even to herself: but it appears that the enterprise was not confided to her.

[2] De Thou is my guide in this narrative.

venge, and desirous of washing out the ignominy of the sentence recorded against him by some great exploit."

During his exile he had been much at Berne, Lausanne, and Geneva, where he fell into company with many of the Religious, whom the proscriptions had driven from France. On his return he continued his connexion with the members of that party, and no man was better acquainted with its secret relations throughout the provinces; so that holding, as it were, the threads by which the society was held together, he was well fitted to assume the conduct of this enterprise.[1]

His first care was to visit every part of the kingdom, and exhort the discontented, not only among the Hugonots, but also among the numerous Catholics who were irritated by the late proceedings, to send deputies to a secret meeting proposed to be held at Nantes upon the 1st day of February 1560.

The Thesis (as D'Aubigné calls it,) for this meeting had been prepared at Aubonne, in the Pays de Vaud, and it must have been there that the celebrated *Case* was drawn up, which was submitted, as we have seen, to the first jurists and most eminent divines in France and Germany. It was corrected by the jurisconsult Hotman, and signed, among others, by Spifame, Bishop of Nevers, Theodore Beza, and some say Calvin. By it the querist demanded, "whether, with a safe conscience, provided no violence were offered to the King and the lawful magistrates, men might take up arms for the safety and liberty of the country, seize Francis de Guise and the Cardinal Charles, his brother, and compel them to resign their misused authority, and render an account of their administration."[1]

They received for answer, "That, as the matter was

[1] De Thou.

stated, they were of opinion that provided the proceeding should receive the sanction of the Princes of the blood royal, or at least of one of them, they being in these cases the legitimate and *born* magistrates, and that it should be done with the consent of the States of the kingdom, *or of the greater and sounder part of them*, it would not be necessary to apprise the King of the matter, who, on account of his youth and inexperience, was not calculated to govern his own affairs, and was held, as it were, a prisoner by the Guises." [1]

The circumstance of this consultation suffices to show that here was no rash popular insurrection—that the enterprise ranked among its supporters men of virtue and deliberation, and was considerately planned and conscientiously determined upon.

The speech which La Renaudie delivered to the deputies assembled at Nantes is given at great length by De Thou. It opens with an enumeration of the grievances which had excited so much discontent. These were—the affronts offered to the houses of Bourbon, Montmorenci, and Chatillon—the formal refusal to assemble the States-General—the cruel persecution of the Protestants—the tyranny of the Guises, and the designs they were accused of entertaining upon the crown by right of their descent from Charlemagne to the exclusion of the Capetian race of Valois.

These complaints establish that which the Reformed maintain in all their writings, namely, that this conspiracy must not be regarded as one in which the interests of religion alone were concerned; but that it took rise from various other sources of discontent, and involved great political interests.

Having laid before the Assembly the *Case* with its

[1] Mem. D'Aubigné, liv. ii. p. 124.

answer, La Renaudie next proceeded to explain his plan of operations.[1] He proposed that the gentlemen assembled should immediately return to their several provinces, which were divided into districts and allotted to different chiefs, many of whose names we shall find hereafter among those the most distinguished in the civil wars. To Castlenau de Chalost,[2] Gascogny was assigned; Bearn to Mazères; Dauphiné to Montbrun; Languedoc to Mouvans; Poictou to St. Cyr and D'Aubigné, &c. These gentlemen were charged to engage, with the utmost secrecy and celerity, as great a number of partizans as possible; who were not, however, to be let into the real purpose of the expedition; but were to hold themselves in readiness, upon the simple assurance of their ministers that the enterprise—was for the good of the community.

This multitude was, by various by-roads, to assemble upon a stated day, namely, the 10th of March, in the neighbourhood of Blois, an open town where the Court was at this time residing. Certain of the leaders, *unarmed*, were then to repair to the Court, penetrate to the King's presence, and respectfully present a petition for liberty of conscience. Upon the rejection of this petition —a rejection regarded as certain—the assembled multitude was to rush into the town, and, as if this rejection had driven them suddenly and furiously into sedition, were to seize upon the Guises, retain them for trial, and place the government in the hands of the Prince de Condé;[3] the

[1] Davila, Guerre Civile di Francia.

[2] This gentleman must not be confounded with Castlenau de la Mauvissiére, whose Memoirs we possess, and who was a distinguished leader upon the other side.

[3] Cela mis en avant, Louis de Bourbon appelé ordinairement Prince de Condé, prince vraiment généreux entre tous les Princes du sang, etoit sollicité d'entendre à ses affaires pour empêcher la ruine du Roi et de tout l'état: après avoir longuement et murement pensé, après avoir aussi diligemment enquis de l'avis des gens doctes, pour être mieux résolu quel etait le droit des Princes du sang comme le consequence du fait le requerait en tel cas, donna premierement commission à certains per-

*chef muet* of the enterprise, who was to be already at Blois, prepared to head the insurrection.

This plan having received universal approbation, the meeting separated, and the gentlemen dispersed to carry their several parts into execution. De Thou remarks with astonishment the fidelity with which a secret, confided to so many persons, was kept, and adduces it as a proof of the violent hatred entertained against the Guises; "a hatred," says he, "which—though the authority of the King and magistrates was unimpaired, and the people, as yet, unaccustomed to rebellion—could gather together so many men from all parts of the country; among whom good faith was so religiously preserved, that the first intimation the Guises received of the conspiracy, was from Germany, Italy, and Spain, rather than from the spies and informers with whom they had covered the face of the kingdom. One man only being found in France, and he of the Protestant religion, who, in abhorrence of the thing, could be found to divulge it."

This man was an advocate of Paris, named D'Averolles, with whom La Renaudie, for greater secrecy, lodged during his visits to Paris. He, suspecting something from the numbers who came to visit his guest, questioned La Renaudie, when the whole was in confidence revealed to him. He was terrified at the magnitude and danger of the enterprise, and went to Stephen l'Allemand—a lawyer concerned in the management of the Cardinal de Lorraine's private affairs—and through him the whole matter was revealed to the Guises.

sonnages de prud'homerie d'enquerir &c. . . . et lui promit (la Renaudie) icelui prince de se trouver sur le lieu de l'execution de la dite capture pour la favoriser en ce qu'il pourrait, pourvu que rien ne fut dit, entrepris, ni faite en sorte quelconque contre Dieu, contre le Roi, messieurs ses frères, les Princes, ni l'etat; pour ce que faisant autrement, il s'opposerait le premier à ce qui s'y dirait, entreprendrait, ou ferait au contraire.—Beza, Hist. des Eglises. By this it would seem that Beza, who is perhaps the best authority upon the subject, allots to the Prince de Condé a larger share in the enterprise than do other historians.

The Court was at Blois, slenderly guarded, when this intelligence was received. The young King had been carried there on account of his health, which was indeed in the most lamentable condition; strange diseases, for which medicine could find no remedy, rendering the feeble and wicked boy a miserable heap of infirmity. The journey had been gloomy. A mournful silence and solitude prevailed wherever he passed: upon all sides the peasants had disappeared. He observed the general avoidance, and, it is said, asked with some emotion, what he had done to excite so much hatred. The fact was that a strange report prevailed very generally, and which may be noted as a proof of the prejudices which existed against the Court. It was believed, that to refresh the exhausted vitality of the young King, baths, made of the warm blood of young children, were employed. The terrified peasants fled on all sides to conceal their infants, and the villages were totally deserted.

Davila represents the Cardinal de Lorraine and his brother, upon receiving the deposition of D'Averolles, as recommending very opposite plans of proceeding. The Cardinal, taking counsel only from his excessive fears, advised armaments, arrests, and executions, without form of process; hoping, by such measures, to crush the undertaking in the bud. But the Duke of Guise was of another opinion. He held cheap the danger arising from a mixed and disorganized multitude; but appreciated justly the injury which would arise to his own reputation from measures so severe, on occasion of a conspiracy never openly declared; and which he might even incur the odium of having invented. He calculated, too, the vast increase of power which the defeat of a manifest conspiracy would confer. On these grounds he refused to adopt any measures which might alarm the conspira-

tors prematurely, and lead them to postpone or reconsider their plans; and he prepared, with a courage, which we cannot but admire, to await the result in his then defenceless attitude.

Two measures only he adopted. One was to remove the King and Court from Blois to Amboise; a small town in the neighbourhood; whose castle, towering on the heights above the Loire may still be seen, though no longer, as then, surrounded by thick and almost impenetrable woods—the other, that being doubtful how far the house of Chatillon might be engaged;—"for he dreaded," says De Thou, "their wealth and power, but much more their virtue"—he requested the Queen-Mother to write to the Admiral and D'Andelot, and desire their immediate attendance upon the King. Both obeyed without hesitation. Upon their arrival, the matter was laid before them, when Coligny, in the presence of the Chancellor, did not hesitate to declare that these discontents arose from the violent and unheard-of measures of the administration, and the bitter persecutions upon account of religion: adding, that it was not too late to allay these disorders by the immediate publication of an edict granting liberty of conscience, and promising to refer the religious disputes to a General Council.

This opinion was warmly supported by the Chancellor Olivier, and, in consequence, an edict was prepared, hurried through the Parliament of Paris, and published upon the 12th of March. This edict granted a general pardon, "*pour tous les crimes concernant les faits de religion,*" and commanded all judges, "*de n'en faire aucune question, pourvu qu'on vescut de là en après comme bons Catholiques, fidels et obéissans fils de l'église.*" But these concessions, moderate as they are, were—with a treachery worthy of the Court—coupled with a secret *arrêt*, bearing

"that when they came to be carried into execution, they should be *re-considered.*"[1]

As, however, this edict excepted from its provisions of mercy all the preachers, and "whosoever should *in any manner* have conspired against the King, the Queen his mother, any of the royal family, Princes of the blood, or *principal* ministers," it was not sufficient to pacify men's minds; but by the very despair which its exclusions occasioned to all engaged in the conspiracy, obliged them in a manner to persevere.

The Duke de Guise had, in the meanwhile, proceeded to make his own personal advantage of the circumstances under which he lay, by demanding the lieutenant-generalcy of the kingdom. This office conferred an uncontrolled authority, amounting pretty nearly to a dictatorship;[2] his pretence for the demand was that it was necessary to place such authority in his hands to meet the coming emergency.

[1] De Thou.

[2] An idea of the powers conferred by this office will be best given by inserting here a copy of those bestowed by Henry II. upon the Duke of Guise when he constituted him lieutenant-general of the kingdom.

... "A ces causes connoissant, &c..... être dans la personne de notre très cher et amé cousin François de Lorraine, Duc de Guise, pair et grand chambellan de France .... le faisons, et ordonnons, et instituons, par ses presents notre lieutenant-genéral representant notre personne en et par tout notre royaume .... si aucun de quelque qualité et condition qu'il soit présume d'enfriendre et contravenir à ses commandemens en ce que concernera notre dit service, et le fait de sa charge, nous voulons, entendons, et nous plaist, qu'il les fasse châtier et punir corporellement selon l'exigence du cas..... Pour la garde, gouvernement, et administration de nos villes, châteaux, et forteresses, s'il voit que besoin soit pour le bien de notre service, chargera et muera quand bon lui semblera les personnages par lui commis à la dite garde et gouvernement .... pour recevoir et ouir toutes ambassades de princes, villes, communautés, et semblablement députer autres ambassades, de par nous devers tels princes, seigneuries, qu'il advient .... Voulons en outre et lui donnant pouvoir, d'autorité pour la direction et conduite des affaires de sa charge sur le fait des deniers et finances, qui ont été et seront assignés pour le fait de la guerre .... Promettant par ces présens signés de notre main, parole de Roi—avoir agréable, tenir ferme et stable tout ce qui sera fait et pris en exécution .... Si donnons en mandement à nos aiméz et féaux, les gens de notre Cour de parlement, d'autres nos Cours souverains, qu à notre dit cousin ils fassent obeyir et entendre à tout ceux, et ainsi qu'ils appartiendra, &c.

The Queen-Mother and the Chancellor were extremely averse to granting so great an accession of power to one already but too formidable; but the urgency of the King's fears carried everything before it, and they were constrained to yield. Olivier, however, as the condition of affixing the seals to the letters patent, exacted a declaration of a general amnesty to all who should immediately lay down their arms; which declaration was published the very day before the insurrection broke out.

The removal of the Court to Amboise had, in some degree, disconcerted the measures of the conspirators. It became necessary to change the place of rendezvous, and to postpone the day of meeting to the 17th; but the intelligence that their design was discovered in no way abated their resolution. Condé, on his way to Court, received this information, but pursued his journey nevertheless; and arrived at Amboise time enough to witness the catastrophe which ensued. La Renaudie had selected 500 horse from among the gentry, and had with them advanced to a spot close upon Amboise; while the younger Mazères had led seventy men, chosen from among the leaders of the enterprise, into the town to join Condé. He concealed these in garrets and cellars; while another, whose name is unknown, undertook to lodge thirty more in the castle itself. Castlenau and the elder Mazères, with their Gascons, were advancing to Noisy, a castle in the neighbourhood, from whence they were, with their followers, to come into the town early in the morning, in such small parties as not to be observed. La Renaudie was to enter about dinner-time, (eleven o'clock,) and, with the half of his partisans already in the place, seize the gates, secure the persons of the Guises, and, making a signal from the tower, the mixed multitude, who lay concealed in the neighbouring woods and thick-

ets, were to rush into the castle by the garden-gate, and gain possession of the place. The plan, as thus newly arranged, was betrayed upon the very morning of the execution by a certain Lignières. He had pledged his faith to the conspirators, but he, nevertheless, came in and discovered to the Queen-Mother the last orders that had been issued; adding the names of the leaders—the roads by which they were to traverse the woods—and the places where they already lay concealed.

The Duke de Guise immediately put himself upon his defence. He ordered the garden-gate to be walled up, and placed the Swiss guard at the grand entrance. Sancerre was dispatched with a body of cavalry to beat the country; while the defence of one of the gates was entrusted to the Prince de Condé. The Grand Prior of France, supported by a strong party of those most attached to the House of Guise was, however, associated with him in this duty;—a measure which effectually prevented the Prince from acting in concert with the assailants. The Maréchal de St. André and the Duke de Nemours, with such cavalry as they could collect, now left the castle and placed ambuscades in the spots designated by De Lignières; with intent to intercept those who were creeping through the woods and bushes to the place of rendezvous.

Mazères, leading the contingent of Bearn, was the first seized upon. He was attacked by the Count de Sancerre, surrounded, and, with his party, made prisoner. "The soldiers tied them to the tails of their horses, and dragged them in triumph into the castle, where, booted and spurred just as they were, they were immediately hanged from the battlements."[1]

The Baron de Castlenau had already reached Noisy. There he halted to refresh his troops, and the Duke de

[1] De Thou.

Nemours was dispatched against him. Castlenau, expecting to be supported by La Renaudie, prepared himself at first for defence; but, finding Nemours stronger than he expected, and La Renaudie not appearing, he at length consented to a parley.

Here Nemours reproached him with his disloyalty to the King. He answered that he was not in arms against the King, but to remonstrate with him upon the violence of his ministers. Nemours said, that was not the manner in which a loyal subject ought to remonstrate with his King. Castlenau replied, that he and his party were in arms, in order to secure, in defiance of the Guises, the means of approaching "in all reverence," their Master's person, in order to declare their grievances. Upon this, Nemours promised, *foi de Prince*, that if he would surrender, no injury should be done to him or to any of his companions, but that they should immediately be admitted to the King's presence, and afterwards be at liberty to depart whithersoever they pleased. This promise was signed by his own hand, Jaques de Savoie, and Castlenau, gratified by the idea of obtaining his object without violence, and perfectly confiding in the good faith of Nemours, attended by fifteen other gentlemen, accompanied him to Amboise. But here, in contempt of all that had passed, they were thrown into a dungeon and loaded with fetters, the Chancellor Olivier himself declaring that no faith was to be kept with rebels—"*Qu'un Prince n'est nullement tenu de sa parolle à un sujet rebel; n'y de quelconque promesse qu'il lui a faite.*"[1]

The Duke de Nemours, after a few remonstrances, submitted, "but he was," says Carloix, "tormented in his mind about his signature—for as to his word he could have given the lie, and challenged any one who had

[1] Mem. de Vieilleville.

reproached him with that—*sans nul excepter fors sa Majesté lui même, tant etoit généreux Prince et vaillant.*

Such were the ways of thinking of the times.

La Renaudie, as he was advancing to Castlenau's assistance, perished obscurely in an encounter with the Baron de Pardaillon.

The next day the conspirators, having heard of his death, made, under Coqueville, one desperate attack upon the castle. They were repulsed, driven back into the town, and some massacred on the spot; the rest being taken prisoners were hanged from the trees and battlements.

To this last attempt, "*portant au comble la fureur des Guises,*" De Thou attributes the revocation of the edict of amnesty, and the subsequent excesses. Troops were dispatched upon all sides in pursuit of the fugitives; "the prisoners were hastily interrogated, condemned, and immediately executed. Some were hung from the lofty battlements of the castle; others drowned in the Loire, under an apprehension that the perpetual repetition of spectacles so full of horror, might move the people to pity. Many were dragged to execution, their very names being even unknown; and the executioner, contrary to custom, never addressing to them one word.[1] The Loire was covered with dead bodies; the streets ran with blood; and the *Place* (or market place,) was crowded with gibbets."[2]

"Earnest," cries Davila, "of those massacres, and of that blood, which has, during so many melancholy years, been without intermission shed!"

The people beginning to murmur aloud at these cruelties perpetrated within their town, "orders were given to search the forest, and slaughter without form of process all who should be found in arms; and in this manner

[1] De Thou. [2] Ibid.

numbers of these poor creatures perished, who had assembled with no other design than that of presenting a petition to their King. Under this pretext, also, several travelling merchants were robbed and murdered." [1]

"These severities," says Carloix, "did little good to the affairs of France; for in conspiracies it suffices to punish the chiefs, without too curiously searching out inferior agents. Too great a rigour urges all to despair. Justice should be moderated by softness and clemency, not depraved to cruelty. Moreover, the most part of these conspirators were ignorant where they were going, or that they were committing treason; having no other object but to assure themselves that their petition would be presented; by which they hoped to obtain liberty of conscience for themselves, and some relief for the rest of France." [2]

We are told that, in their simplicity, these poor people had delighted themselves with the idea of entering into the presence of their King, to whom the heart of every Frenchman used once to turn with affectionate confidence.

The father of D'Aubigné coming some days afterwards to Amboise in company with his son, could distinguish the faces of many of his intimate acquaintances, and much beloved and honoured friends, as they hung upon the innumerable gibbets which surrounded him—shuddering with horror, though in the midst of several hundreds of people, he could not forbear exclaiming aloud, "Oh the traitors! they have murdered France!" And laying his hand upon his son's head, "My son," he cried, "I charge thee, at the hazard of thy own life—as I will at the hazard of mine, avenge these honourable chiefs—and, if thou failest to attempt it, my curse shall follow thee to the grave." [3]

[1] De Thou. [2] Mém. de Castlenau. [3] Mém. d'Aubigné.

Nearly twelve hundred men were hanged, drowned, or beheaded, on this most melancholy occasion.

Castlenau, with the fifteen gentlemen who had surrendered upon the faith of Nemours, were put to the *question*, and miserably tortured. But no agonies could extort the slightest variation in the declaration of all; that against the Guises—and against the Guises alone—and in no manner whatsoever against the King was the conspiracy directed. In Castlenau's boot was found a paper containing a plan of the conspiracy, and a protestation declaring that the person and authority of the King would always be respected. On La Renaudie's body another was found, beginning "*Protestation par le chef et tout ceux du concile associés en cette sainte et politique entreprise, de n'attenter aucunement, ni en quelque chose que ce soit, contre la Majesté du Roi, ni les Princes de son sang—mais pour mettre avec l'ayde de Dieu le gouvernement du royaume en son premier etat, et faire observer les anciennes coutûmes de France.*" [1]

Castlenau was interrogated by Olivier, "and," says La Planche, "defended himself with such excellent examples and reasons drawn from the laws, all quoted with so much propriety, that the Chancellor was silenced, and only said—he had studied his lesson marvellously well. He answered, that in an affair of this importance it became him to study it well—and to resolve his own doubts, so that, without scruple of conscience, he might engage in an undertaking—wherein he perilled life in that best of quarrels, the defence of his religion, and of his King. He was then attacked upon his religion, and defended himself so ably, that the Chancellor asked in what school of theology he had studied?—Saying, that he recollected him a very different man during the late wars.

[1] Mem. de Vieilleville.

'You know well where I studied,' he replied, 'for on my return from my imprisonment in Flanders, you asked me how I had employed my time, and when I answered, in the study of the Holy Scriptures—have you forgotten how you praised my labours, resolved my doubts, and advised me to frequent the assemblies at Paris?—Did you not express a wish that all the nobility of France resembled me in zeal and affection, because I had chosen 'that better part?' And, as the Chancellor, confounded, held down his head, 'How dare you!' cried he, 'trembling upon the edge of the grave—raised by God to the highest dignity in this kingdom, and by His grace admitted to a knowledge of truth—how dare you, to please *that* Cardinal, tamper with your duties, your conscience, and your religion by these unworthy submissions!—Is it not enough that you lent yourself, against your principles, to the persecution of the miserable churches of Mirandol and Cabrières?—Have I not heard you declare, with groans and tears, that for this God had rejected you?—*Oui, malheureux!* You, who have trifled through life with God and the Holy Scriptures, know that the time of your account is near—yea, nearer than you imagine—for the measure of your iniquity is full!' The Cardinal de Lorraine seeing the Chancellor mute and confounded, took up the argument, but soon confessed himself answered; upon which Castlenau, turning to the Duke de Guise, begged him to remark that his brother was confuted. He replied, brutally enough, 'I know nothing of argument, but very well understand how to cut off heads.'—'Would to God,' replied Castlenau, 'you understood argument like your brother, I am certain by you it would never be abused, to pervert your conscience!—But, as to your threat of cutting off heads, it is unworthy of a Prince like you.'"[1]

[1] La Planche.

All their appeals to the promise of Nemours, under the faith of which they had surrendered, were vain. Castlenau and his brave followers were condemned, and the sentence was signed by the Chancellor. When Castlenau heard he was convicted of high treason, he seemed to lose all patience, and exclaimed, "If it be treason to take up arms against these violators of our laws and liberties, let them be declared kings at once. *Qu'on les déclare Rois.*"

The greatest exertions were made to save his life, but his enemies were inexorable. "The King and the Queen-Mother," says La Planche, "were pressed and importuned by the Admiral and D'Andelot to save him—not only on account of his virtues and the great services which his family had rendered to the crown of France,[1] but also to avoid the violent resentment which his execution would excite among his party. The Queen did her best, even condescending to go and entreat in their own apartments these *new Kings who were become invincible.*" But the Cardinal used these words, "*Par le sang de Dieu, il en mourira,* the man breathes not in France who shall save him."

Castlenau and his friends were executed upon a scaffold erected in front of the castle. The King, his Queen Mary Stuart, the Queen-Mother, the young Princes her sons, the Princesses her daughters, the Duchess of Guise, and all the ladies of the court being present at the windows and balconies to witness the dismal scene. "They died praying aloud to God, and appealing to Him to attest the justice of their cause, compelling many to lament and deplore their fate."[2]

"When it came to the turn of Villemorgue, one of the

[1] His brother had saved the life of the late Duke of Orleans, brother of Henry the Second, at the expense of his own.

[2] La Place.

fifteen gentlemen, he dipped his hands in the blood of his companions, and raising them to heaven, cried with a loud voice, 'Lord! behold the blood of thy children most unjustly slain! Thou wilt take vengeance.'"

At these words the Duchess of Guise, who had been forced most unwillingly to witness this execution, uttered a cry, and starting from her seat rushed from the scene and hurried into the chamber of the Queen-Mother, where Catherine on her return found her in an agony of tears. On the Queen's approach her sobs, groans, and cries redoubled, "the more," says La Planche, "because they two had often, in great privacy, discoursed of the goodness and innocence of those of the religion." The Queen seeing her distress, asked her why she lamented, *de si étrange façon.* "Alas, Madam!" said she, "Have I not cause? I have witnessed the most strange and piteous tragedy—the effusion of innocent blood—blood of the best and most faithful subjects the King ever had; and much I fear some heavy curse will fall upon our house, and that God will exterminate us, in vengeance for this barbarity."[1]

The Chancellor Olivier was observed to weep at the execution, and when it was over seemed suddenly struck with dismay. The last words of Castlenau ringing in his ear, he retired to his chamber—Here, flung across the bed, he abandoned himself to all the horrors of an awakened conscience, and to the agonies of the most furious despair;

[1] An old engraving preserved in the Collection du Cabinet d'estampes, Biblioth. du Roi, Paris, Regne François II. thus reproduces the scene:—

"La Renaudie guindé à une potence au pied du Château d'Amboise. A la porte, cinq des conjurés sont pendus avec de longues cordes, et incontinent deux autres vont être etranglés; le Baron de Castlenau et ses compagnons décapités; Villemongis, ayant trempé ses mains dans le sang de ses compagnons, va être aussi décapité. *Puis grande affluence de belles et gentilles dames, parlant et riant incessament;* elles entourent une potence ayant trois têtes sur le sommet; audessous est escrit: *Cy sont trois têtes pour mémorial.*—Capefigue.

reproaching his Maker, that ever he was born, and reviling himself in the wildest and most violent manner.[1] The Cardinal de Lorraine, hearing of his distress, hastened to visit and to console him, but he refused to be comforted, and turned impatiently away to the other side of the bed, without answering him a single word: till, as the Cardinal was leaving the room, he cried out, "Ha! cursed Cardinal, you have damned yourself and all of us." Two days after he died.

When this speech was reported to the Duke de Guise, it is said he cried angrily, "'Damned!—Damned!'—What a rascally liar!"

A bitter part in this tragedy was that of the Prince de Condé. Deeply as he was implicated in the plot, not one among the brave spirits concerned, even in the midst of the most dreadful tortures of the *question*, could be found to betray him. La Vigne, secretary to La Renaudie, alone went so far as to say, that he knew nothing of the King of Navarre, but that had the plot succeeded, he suspected that the Prince would have been found at the head of it.

Surrounded by his enemies, he had been ordered at the first alarm to defend the gate, and had been compelled not only to witness, but almost to assist in the defeat of his party. He was afterwards required to attend the execution, where the expression of distress upon his countenance was so excessive that he was reproached with it. "How can I be insensible," he cried, "to the death of so many brave officers, who, during the last two reigns, have done such service to the crown! I confess I am at a loss to conceive why none of the ministers have taken upon themselves to represent to the King the injury these infamous executions are inflicting upon the state."

[1] Mem. de Vieilleville.

These words were carried to the Cardinal de Lorraine, and were not forgotten, as we shall find.[1]

Such was the termination of this celebrated conspiracy, undertaken as we have seen—at least as far as the majority were concerned—from the purest and most conscientious motives; and punished by the evil men against whom it was directed with a barbarity which laid but too surely a foundation for those long and bloody quarrels which ensued. Had the conspirators attained their object, the succeeding history of their country might have, in all probability, become one of enlightened civil and religious improvement; directed, as it would have been, by those great and virtuous men, who, in these early days, headed the Reformed party. France might thus have led the advance in that great progress which signalised the century, and walked a light and an example before the nations. But the evil principle triumphed; the reign of injustice and superstition finally prevailed; and those dark clouds gathered round and obscured her destiny which it required all the wild forces of her last awful Revolution to dispel.

I will terminate this chapter with the account De Thou gives of the rise of the word Hugonot, which now first began to be applied to the French Protestants. It was at first a term of reproach.[2]

"At Tours," says he, "the religious first began to be known by the name, at once odious and ridiculous, of Hugonots..... of which this is the origin. As in all our towns they have their particular names for the fairies, hobgoblins, spirits, and other imaginary beings, about whom old women's tales are told to frighten children; so at Tours,

[1] Garnier.

[2] Sismondi gives another and more honourable derivation from the German, and does not seem to think the name was applied as one of reproach; but we find that the word *Hugonot* was forbidden to be used, as well as that of *Papist*, in one of the edicts of pacification, as if it were an irritating term. Beza gives much the same derivation as De Thou.

King Hugo is famous, who is said to ride about the precincts by night, and plunder all he meets; from him they were called Hugonots; because they assembled secretly in those places, and by night, for the purpose of hearing sermons, and for prayer, which at this time it was not lawful to do."

## CHAPTER V.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE CONSPIRACY.—MEETING AT FONTAINBLEAU.

If the exertion of arbitrary power, unrestrained by considerations of equity or mercy, punishing revolt with almost unexampled severity, were sufficient to subdue the spirit of disaffection, and establish the security of a government, that of the Guises might have henceforward rested upon the most assured foundations.

The conspiracy of Amboise had been repressed with the greatest decision, and punished with the most unrelenting rigour; but the Lorraines, far from finding cause to exult in their success, discovered to their cost that they had raised a spirit it was impossible to lay, and that every hour, as it rolled over their heads, furnished additional cause for anxiety and apprehension.

They had mistaken the character of the times, and of the high spirited nation with which they had to do. They little understood the force of that deep and fervent religious persuasion which had diffused itself so widely amid the masses; nor of that generous and patriotic spirit which animated so many of the gentry and old nobility—now swelling with indignation at the insults offered to their party—and at the barbarous and merciless proscription which had slaughtered so many of their bravest and their best.

The fermentation was universal. France trembled from her centre to the extremity of her provinces, and upon

every side commotions and obscure disturbances gave evidence of those internal heavings and convulsions which announce an approaching catastrophe.

In Dauphiné, Provence, Languedoc, and more especially in Normandy, a spirit of determined resistance was almost openly manifested. While the depositions wrung by torture from the miserable victims of Amboise had taught the Government, how generally a similar spirit lay concealed under the surface of society—and that they might expect a general insurrection.

The Protestants, far from sinking into despondency after their late defeat, seemed at last incited by desperation to cast aside the religious scruples which had so long held them passive, and to prepare for a vigorous resistance. —They were actively, though secretly, employed in strengthening the union which subsisted between the Churches, in devising means for seizing certain strongholds, and the places of deposit for the public money, so as to furnish themselves with the most necessary among the means of defence. They maintained the closest connexion with the Bourbon Princes, and it was evident that, thus supported, the party would speedily resist by force the cruel persecutions to which they were subjected. One-third of the general population of the kingdom, it is said, might be considered at this time as attached to the party of the malcontents; while the higher nobility were alienated by a tyranny which French gentlemen had been little accustomed to endure with patience, even at the hands of their legitimate sovereigns—and which became absolutely insupportable when exercised by those regarded as foreigners and strangers.

Such, after the first exultation of triumph had subsided, was the critical position in which the Princes of the house of Lorraine found themselves; and their perplexity and un-

easiness are manifested by the vacillation and uncertainty of their measures.

Yet it does not appear that they for one moment wavered in their main design—namely, to establish their own power as Ministers of the King; and the power of the King himself upon the basis of an unmitigated despotism. To allay discontent by just and merciful measures of conciliation; to heal the wounds of society, and unite, ere yet too late, under one system of equal protection, those opinions which threatened to rend it in pieces; to yield to, and at the same time to guide, the spirit of the times, by a judicious mixture of firmness and concession—were measures alien to their natures—and the wisdom of which, they rather wanted the morality than the intellect to comprehend. But to those who are insensible to the claims of justice, force will always appear the best, as it is the last, argument in political disputes: and accordingly they, with that blind indifference to wrong, which characterises their career, resolved to concede nothing to opinion—nothing to the reasonable claims of their adversaries—but to conquer opposition by rigour; or, if this were impossible, to undermine it by that insidious and perfidious policy—the common resource of the politicians of that age, when the more open violences proper to its manners could not be exercised. They resolved, in defiance of the strong and tender affection then cherished by the French nation for their blood royal, to terminate by death the opposition of the Bourbon Princes; and, in contempt of the lessons past experience might have taught, to persevere in endeavouring to eradicate by cruelty that spirit of religious Reform which it was evident all suffering was inadequate to extinguish.[1]

[1] The fatality of crime is like the progress of virtue, one step entails almost necessarily another; and never was lesson more sensibly taught than by the dark course into which the Catholic party seemed almost impelled, as the consequence of these their first outrageous measures of injustice and barbarity.

These are the secret objects which Davila instructs us to detect, (and in this he is supported by the evidence of more trustworthy historians,) in any measures of popularity, or apparent moderation, which the government was at this time led to adopt. "They agreed together," says he, "upon the chastisement and final destruction of all those who, by counsel or action, added fuel to this fire. But such a determination being attended with infinite perils, and requiring the most dexterous conduct, they resolved to begin with dissimulation: to feign ignorance of all but the external manifestations of this conspiracy; to attribute it solely to diversity of religions, and misconduct on the part of the inferior magistrates; and rather to testify fear on their own parts, than shew confidence and security by their oppressions; and thus, while they affected a sense of justice, and a desire to find means of reforming abuses, to satisfy the minds of all. By means such as these, hoping to allay suspicion and restore tranquillity, while they carried to perfection those plans which, by open force, they saw it was at present utterly impossible to accomplish." Such are the designs which Davila lends to these heroes and favourites of his history, —and he thinks he praises them.

The preliminary and most important question to be resolved by the Council of government, after the first bloody executions were over, was how to dispose of Condé. He still remained in their power at Amboise, closely watched, though, after some days, not absolutely under restraint. The government was in possession of the strongest presumptive evidence of his share in the conspiracy, but direct proof was wanting; and, under these circumstances, it appeared equally dangerous to release or to punish him. The Cardinal de Lorraine was, however, for immediately proceeding judicially on such evidence as they possessed,

and by a legal sentence effectually and for ever laying at rest this dangerous and active spirit; but the Duke de Guise strongly opposed the measure. "And," says La Planche, "he on this occasion gave reasons for his opinion, contrary to his usual custom, which was in all things to say —*mon avis est tel,—et faut faire ainsi, ou ainsi.* He harangued long, endeavouring to persuade his brother, saying, that to attack the Princes so suddenly would raise a universal sedition—that it was entirely against his opinion and advice—that it would give colour to all the defamatory placards and libels published by the rebels, who accused the house of Guise of a desire to extinguish the blood royal—and that they ought, to strengthen their judicial proofs, and prepare the King's troops, before they attempted an enterprise of the kind."[1]

Condé being informed that the Cardinal taxed him openly with a share in the conspiracy, with carrying concealed arms, filling the Court with his adherents, and various proeeedings of a like nature, demanded an audience of the King, in order to justify himself. "Here," says De Thou, "in the presence of the King, the Queen, the Princes, the Lorraines, and the foreign ambassadors, he pleaded his cause with that warmth and eloquence which were natural to him, ending his defence by a challenge in the usual form, directed with his usual spirit against his powerful enemies. He declared that whosoever affirmed him to be chief of a conspiracy directed against the person of the King, or the security of the State, lied,—and as often as he repeated it he lied,—and that, as far as this matter was concerned, he renounced his dignity as Prince of the blood,[2] and challenged to single combat

[1] La Planche, ob. Castlenau, 42. 141.

[2] "Et pour preuve de son innocence, voulait quitter (pour ce regard seulement)—son rang et dignité de Prince du sang; lequel le dit seigneur, (Roi), ni les siens ne lui avaient donné, mais Dieu seul qui

whosoever, of whatsoever degree, affirmed the contrary. Upon which the Duke of Guise, in pursuance of his secret design, to the surprise of every body, stepped forwards; and, far from taking up the gauntlet thus thrown down, declared, such was his own opinion of the virtue and rectitude of the Prince who had just spoken, that, should a combat upon this question ensue, he offered himself as his second—being ready to risk his life in his service, and maintain his quarrel against all the world." ..... "It is difficult," adds the historian, "at which to wonder most, at the confidence of the Prince when he gave this challenge, or at the profound dissimulation of the Duke when he seconded it."[1] On this, Condé turned to the King, and besought him to lend his ear no longer to calumniators, but to regard him in future as the most faithful of his subjects, and to reject them as enemies of his own person and of the public peace.[2]

The Guises were still hesitating whether to detain or to let the Prince go, when he cut the matter short by eluding their vigilance; and upon occasion of the Court proceeding to Tours—for we are told the air of Amboise was so poisoned by the multitude of the dead, as to be rendered unwholesome—he contrived to escape, and setting forward with great speed, joined his brother, the

l'avait fait naître de sa souche."—Beza, Hist. des Eglises. Remark the dignity and independence contained in the idea—and the difference between an hereditary and a created aristocracy. — Russia and Old France.

[1] It may be observed, that Condé only maintained he was a party in no enterprise *against the King or the State;* the conspiracy of Amboise merited, in his eyes, no such appellation.

[2] The whole of this scene is coloured in a very different manner by Brantôme:—"Sur quoy il (Condé) fit certain rodomontade en l'air, mais non en presence, comme s'est dit et écrit, car alors il n'osoit parler si haut; bien que d'ailleurs il eut la parolle belle, bonne, haute, et hardie. Mais pourtant connoissant qu'il ne faisoit pas bien pour lui, et que l'on commencoit à decouvrir le pot aux roses, il partit de la cour et s'en alla trouver le Roi de Navarre dont pourtant l'on se repentit (*car je le sçais*) de quoy on l'avoit laissé aller."

King of Navarre, at Nerac. As he mounted his horse to depart, Condé was accosted by Genlis, a friend and partisan of his, who asked what message he should carry to the King. Condé desired he would assure his Majesty of his most perfect loyalty, and entire submission in every point except with regard to matters of religion. "But I have," added he, "sworn, and here I swear again, that I will never go to Mass."

Arrived at Nerac, he found Navarre in no favourable disposition towards him. Timid in his views, irresolute in his measures, all that Anthony had done before the conspiracy was declared, had been to collect his *compagnies d'ordonnance*, and to remain in Bearn, waiting the event. Immediately upon the catastrophe, he had altered his plans, and had employed his forces in measures directly in contradiction with his original views. He attacked and dispersed a body of 2,000 Protestants, who, relying upon his connivance, had assembled in the neighbourhood; and spared no pains to convince the Court that he had taken no share in the insurrection. He now endeavoured to persuade Condé to return to Tours, and allay suspicion by the appearance of confidence; but Condé had other designs in contemplation, and he persisted in remaining at Nerac, where he immediately began his exertions for the maintenance of his house and the protection of his religious party, now menaced by persecutions more grievous than ever. He opened a most active correspondence with the Churches; and never rested till, by the force of his representations, he had persuaded Anthony once again to second him. The cruelty of the persecution on account of religion was now exasperated by political jealousy, and the situation of the hapless members of the Reformed religion more desperate than ever. Letters are in existence (Bib. du Roi MSS. Col-

bert, vol. 27), in which orders were given to the authorities of different provinces, *de nettoyer le pays de ce canaille*—in other words, exterminate them. "I command you (MSS. Colbert, vol. 27) to transport yourself to all suspected places, to learn from good Catholics the names of those who are present at the preachings *et sur ces simples témoignages verbaux*, to seize the preachers and hang them without form of process by the Provost Marshal; and with regard to the Hugonots who make public profession of their religion, they shall be put into the hands of justice and judged incontinently . . . . . if the assistants (at such assemblies) be armed, they shall be cut to pieces or hanged; and such as shall not be arrested, the King leaves it to the discretion of the authorities, to deprive them of property and privileges—to raze their houses, and condemn them to such pecuniary fines as they shall see fit."

In vain!—The letters of the Comte de Villars thus describe the effect produced by this merciless proscription in his Province. "Part of the inhabitants of Nismes, to the number of three or four thousand, have retired into the mountains of Gevaudan, from whence they threaten to descend into the plain; in which case, those who appear the most submissive will infallibly join them. The heresy extends every day. The children learn only the Catechisms of Geneva. Marriages are solemnised after the Hugonot fashion: and as for prisoners, the number is so great that it is impossible to put them all to death."

The Court of Navarre now became a refuge for the persecuted and the discontented; and all laboured incessantly to induce Anthony to take some decided step, which might finally commit him with the government, and render retreat impossible. A public declaration of protection to the Reformed Churches would, it was

thought, best accomplish this object; and, in order to persuade the King of Navarre to the measure, certain of the more eminent among the Protestants came, at the instigation of the elder Maligny, to Nerac, bearing a humble supplication and remonstrance from the Churches.

At the audience to which they were admitted, they offered to both Princes, in the name of their constituents, "seeing that they represented more than a million of men," the free disposition of their lives and fortunes, provided they would make common cause with them by publicly avowing themselves chiefs of the party. But they threatened, on the other hand, to separate themselves from them entirely, and to choose other leaders—either among *les regnicoles* or foreigners—if, forgetting their rank, their own rights, and the wrongs of the suffering people, they betrayed their confidence by basely abandoning the King and his brothers, the cause of freedom and of their country, to the murderous fury of two bloody and implacable tyrants. This remonstrance was afterwards printed and widely circulated, under the title of "*Supplication et remontrance addressé au Roi de Navarre, et autres Princes du sang pour la délivrance du royaume, &c.*"

Libels and pamphlets again swarmed from the press, in which the Lorraines were attacked with great force and bitterness. Concerning one, called *le Tigre*, an anecdote is recorded so strongly indicative of the violence and injustice of the times, that it shall be inserted:—A copy of this work having been found in the possession of a poor bookseller of Paris, named Martin l'Hommet, he was arrested and put to the question, in order to force from him the name of the author, or, at least, that of the man who had furnished him with the manuscript. L'Hommet preserved an honourable silence, and was thereupon con-

demned to be hanged in the author's place. As he was led to execution the populace pursued him with their insults and their outcries, and at last became so much exasperated as to be upon the point of snatching him from his accompanying guards and tearing him to pieces, when a tradesman (*facteur*) of Rouen accidentally passing by, shocked at the scene he witnessed, though a perfect stranger to L'Hommet, interfered from pure humanity, and endeavoured to quiet the fury of the mob by representing the baseness and the folly of defiling their hands with the blood of a miserable wretch for whom the executioner was already in waiting. The rage of the people, diverted from its first object, was now directed against the unfortunate tradesman; they got about him, seized upon and dragged him to prison; from whence, in a few days, he was carried to the Place Maubert, and, having been already condemned as an accomplice of L'Hommet, was hanged. This execution excited very great indignation not only against the Guises, but against those unworthy judges who had pandered to their tyranny by thus condemning to death an innocent man for a mere act of generous humanity exercised in favour of one until then entirely unknown to him.

But the increasing hostility was not confined to the lower ranks; among the highest and most influential of the Court the ill-disguised dissatisfaction excited by mingled jealousy and indignation was rapidly increasing.

The Queen-Mother, though in appearance supporting the Guises, was in secret their active enemy, and was already endeavouring to construct a party which might serve, at least in some degree, to balance their power. The Constable, also, regarded with increasing ill will this rapid advance of his ancient rivals, and the consequent decline of his own influence, and that of his nephews of

Chatillon, whom he loved and cherished as his own children. Being appointed to communicate the affair of Amboise to the Parliament, he gave the ministers a specimen of what sort of support they might expect from him. For obvious reasons it was a leading object with the Guises to represent the conspiracy as expressly directed against the *person of the King himself.* The Constable, however, thought proper to give it a very different colour, remarking, as he enlarged upon its enormity, "that any design against *the favourite servants* of a house, must be cause of grave offence to the master of that house." Thus making his communication in a form peculiarly obnoxious to the government, and testifying, at one and the same moment, his contempt for their wishes, and his indifference to their resentment.

The Guises now too late lamented that they had suffered Condé to escape; and anticipated a formidable struggle with the powerful union which it was evident was beginning once more to be formed against them.

To recover their advantage by enticing the Bourbon Princes once again to Court, and to prepare by the collection of a large military force, to carry into execution the desperate designs they afterwards meditated, became next the object of their proceedings. The Duke de Guise, as Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, speedily accomplished one of these objects, by adding one thousand lances and a new regiment of arquebusiers to the troops usually in attendance upon the person of the King. The command of the new regiment he bestowed upon Anthoine du Plessis Richelieu, surnamed Le Moine, a man who had been once a monk, but who, tonsured as he was, now assumed the sword, and who was of such atrocious conduct and infamous character, that it marks a very astonishing defiance of public opinion in the Duke de Guise, to

venture to appoint him at such a moment to such a charge.[1] In addition to these forces, the Duke received a very considerable body of troops from Scotland, set at liberty by the treaty of Leith just concluded. The *vieilles bandes* from Piedmont, under the command of the Maréchal de Brissac—veterans hardened in the fields of Italy, had also just returned to France and might be considered at his devotion; added to which, setting first the pernicious example of hiring foreign soldiers to take part in the domestic quarrel, he entered into negotiations with the German princes and Swiss cantons, for large levies of mercenaries to be ready to march to his assistance when required.

While the Guises thus strengthened their hands against the approaching contest, the Queen-Mother, on her side, was not idle; and, whatever might be the selfishness or generosity of motive which influenced her conduct, its prudence, and the happy consequences which resulted from it, are unquestionable. Influenced, some say, by jealousy of the Lorraines, others, by the advice of the Duchess de Montpensier, others, by her own secret leaning in favour of the Reformed religion, she gave her confidence to Coligny, and conferred upon France the signal benefit — some atonement for innumerable crimes — of appointing Michel de l'Hôpital to the seals, vacant by the death of Olivier—an appointment which was conceded most unwillingly by the Guises to her pertinacity and determination. De l'Hôpital was, indeed, one who would have done honour to any age—a man just, benevolent, enlightened, and far advanced beyond the times to which he belongs. If there are passages in his life when he may be thought to have lent himself to some compliances

[1] This man was grandfather to the Cardinal de Richelieu; instances of his barbarity and audacity may be found in De Thou.

unworthy of his character, something must be pardoned to the lawyer—much to the difficulties of his situation—but much more to that prudence which sought to carry into effect such portions of good as the spirit of the age seemed able to bear, rather than to forfeit all chance of success, by aiming at an impossible perfection.[1]

The Queen either feigned or felt a desire to employ Coligny in the most secret and confidential manner. She, about this time, either to flatter his party, or, that she really designed, in matters of religion, to support a more equitable and tolerant system of government, desired to confer with Chandieu, one of the most eminent of the Reformed divines, who certainly had several secret interviews with her—and when Coligny, and D'Andelot, in grief undisguised at the slaughter of Amboise, prepared to leave the Court, she engaged the Admiral to go down into Normandy, where the Protestants were numerous and the appearances of disaffection most alarming, that he might endeavour to discover the real cause of the discontents; and pacify matters if possible. Coligny accepted the commission, and wrote shortly after his arrival to the Queen. In his letter he does not affect to spare the King's ministers, but declares their insatiable ambition, together with the persecutions on account of religion, to be the sole causes of the present disaffection: he ends by urging the Queen by every argument in his power, to take the administration of affairs into her own hands—advice with which Catherine was ready enough to comply.

While Coligny thus endeavoured to weaken the influence of the Lorraines at Court, De l'Hôpital was employed

[1] The important reforms which De l'Hôpital introduced into the French system of jurisprudence, as they are not germain to the leading subject of this little work, will be passed over in silence.

in the yet more important occupation, of resisting by every means in his power the attempt, now openly made by the Cardinal de Lorraine, to alter the constitution of the Court of Inquisition as it then existed in France—a resistance in which he was successful, though at the expense of very considerable sacrifices. It was not the first occasion upon which the ambitious and profligate Cardinal had endeavoured to arm this tribunal with those tremendous powers which it wielded in Spain; the attempt had been made so early as the reign of Henry the Second. But to explain to the general reader the immense difference which, in fact, subsisted between tribunals bearing the same title in these two countries, a few words from De Thou will be necessary.

"In France the King reserves to himself the entire cognisance of all causes on account of religion, and attributes to his judges the right of decision on the punishment of all offences against religion unless the culprit be in holy orders.[1] When it is necessary to examine whether an opinion tends to heresy, doubtless the ecclesiastics must be called upon to decide that question, and so far their jurisdiction must be permitted to extend. But your tribunals shall have cognisance of the appeals on whatever regards the punishments imposed *et les jugemens en dernier ressort seront rendus par des Juges laics, &c.*"

The axiom was laid down, "that no power in the state did, or ought to, possess the sovereign authority of life or death over the subjects of such state, save the sovereign alone, as supreme head." How widely such principles

[1] He gives us in illustration the following extract from a remonstrance of the Parliament, made in the year 1555, on occasion of an edict which they refused to register, "par laquelle il fut enjoint à tous les Gouverneurs de punir sans delai et sans avoir égard à l'appel toutes les personnes qui auroient été condamnés par les *Inquisitions de la Foi.*" The attempt to attribute such extraordinary and irregular powers was resisted, and among other the principles in the text were laid down.

differed from those which allowed the Spanish Inquisition to commit, try, and sentence, without appeal, all the subjects of the state, laity as well as clergy,—only performing the empty ceremony of handing its victims over to the secular arm, when its sentences were to be carried into execution—it is unnecessary to point out to the reader's attention.

A tribunal, with powers such as those attributed to the Inquisition in Spain, it was the determination of the Cardinal de Lorraine now to establish in France, and it is to Michel de l'Hôpital that she is indebted for her escape from the greatest of those evils which deform the judicial history of mankind.

De l'Hôpital represented forcibly the enormous mischief which such a tribunal was daily inflicting upon Spain; the dire contest which its attempted establishment was preparing for the Low Countries, and the impossibility that the frank and loyal character of the French nation could be submitted, without a violence incredible, to such a yoke. He succeeded in arresting the project, but in the struggle he was condemned to make several, and great sacrifices; one of which was to exchange the edict of March, for the second important edict on religious matters—known as that of Romorantin.—An edict by which several of the privileges allowed to the Reformed were again withdrawn; but, in considering which, less regard must be paid to the evils it occasioned than to those it averted.[1]

By this edict the cognisance in cases of heresy was committed to the ecclesiastical tribunals, to the exclusion of the secular courts. All persons frequenting conventicles or secret assemblies were declared guilty of high treason—and five hundred crowns offered as the reward to informers—this clause, however, being modified by the

[1] Garnier, Hist. France, 28, 291.

provision that all calumnious informers should be subjected to the *peine du talion.*

This measure excited the greatest clamour on all sides—the parliament resisted the clause, which attributed new and alarming powers to the bishops; and consented to register it only conditionally: the Protestants, disappointed to find themselves once more deprived of their right of assembling for religious purposes, exclaimed at its severity: the Catholics murmured at its weakness and inefficiency. But de l'Hôpital had already chalked out for himself the line he intended to pursue, in order, by slow degrees, to accustom the public mind to those principles of general toleration which he had adopted as the guide of his future proceedings. Satisfied with the successful stand he had made against the introduction of measures which would have finally closed the door against a liberal and enlightened system of things; he listened to the reproaches which assailed him from all parties with immovable composure, and only replied to the expostulations on all sides—*Patience, tout ira bien.*

The edict of Romorantin, however, for the present only served to augment the fears of the Reformed churches. The general feelings of distrust and dissatisfaction were increased and the rising fermentation was evidenced by various signs.

The edict was disobeyed in many places. At Caen, St. Lo, and Dieppe, the assemblies for religious service and the preaching of the gospel were openly persisted in.

In Provence the populace, under Paul de Mouvans, assembling tumultuously, began to destroy images, and carry off the church plate. At Valence and other towns, they took possession of some of the churches, and appropriated them to their own purposes. Montbrun, in Dauphiné, made an attempt to liberate the Venaissin from the dominion of

the Pope. Our limits do not allow of detailing these partial insurrections, with regard to which, however, it is but right to explain, that an examination of such details invariably proves that the Protestant population were well inclined to be orderly and tranquil; and that they were, in every instance, goaded to insurrection by the vexations and cruelties of the Catholics, or by their earnest desire to obtain for themselves the liberty of assembling for religious purposes alone.[1] Whatever the cause the effect filled the kingdom with tumult and confusion, while the miserable state of the finances, and the almost total impossibility of providing funds for even the current daily expenses, crippled the powers and completed the perplexities of the government.

In this state of disorder, contention, distraction, and ill-defined alarms, all parties at length began to agree upon the necessity of a final appeal to the nation—or, in other words, upon the assembly of the States-General. The Reformed, whose opinions with regard to government have been already adverted to, looked upon this assembly as the only possible chance for arresting the rapid strides by which the government, from a monarchy, in some degree qualified, was fast passing into the most oppressive tyranny—the opposition to which already threatened to convert secret discontent into open rebellion. Even the Guises themselves had their secret reasons for supporting the measure, as we are informed by Davila. "They determined," says he, "to summon the States-General (in whose hands the whole authority of

[1] As an instance of the brutal and fanatical spirit which animated the lower Catholics the sickening story of the brother of De Mouvans shall suffice. He was torn to pieces in a tumult by the populace, and his heart thrown to the dogs. The animals refused the horrid repast, upon which they were called Lutherans, and beaten to pieces by the exasperated mob.

the realm resides), '*appresso del quale resiede tutto l'autoritá del reame,*' in order to make use of its powers to countenance the designs they entertained against their rivals; and as a snare to bring the Bourbons once more into their hand." Davila is apt to over-refine in the motives he attributes to his personages. Yet one thing appears certain, the Guises possessed the means, and had the intention, to overawe this assembly, and make use of it as a most effectual instrument for confirming their authority; but the strongest motive which led them to have recourse to a popular assembly seems to have been their extreme want of money.

Forty years had now elapsed since France had beheld the shadow of a representation, or any assembly whatsoever convened that could, in the slightest degree, control that authority which her Kings had by degrees assumed to themselves. However much the measure was desired, to summon the States-General after so long a suspension, and in such stormy times, could not but excite considerable anxiety and apprehension; and it was, therefore, proposed by De l'Hôpital,—and cheerfully acceded to by all parties,—that, as a preliminary measure, an assembly consisting of the most eminent men in the nation should be summoned to meet at Fontainbleau, and there consult upon the proceedings best adapted to the exigencies of the times.

Letters patent were accordingly issued July the 31st, addressed to the Princes of the blood, the ministers of the crown, and such of the nobility and knights of the order as were illustrious for their birth and influence. They were summoned to meet on the 20th of August, to deliberate on the affairs of the nation.[1]

[1] The letters addressed to the Constable de Montmorenci still exist. Bibl. du Roi, MSS. de Bethune, vol. Cot. 8674 fol. 47.

The King arrived at Fontainbleau, surrounded by a large military force ; a proceeding to which the French nation had not till then been accustomed. Besides the considerable body of troops immediately in attendance, the Duke de Guise had distributed several *compagnies d'ordonnance* in the neighbourhood; and the regiments of the *vieilles bandes* were quartered at a few leagues' distance.[1]

But, in spite of these precautionary measures, even the Duke of Guise himself, it is said, could not resist a feeling of alarm, when the Constable, attended by his two eldest sons, the Maréchal de Montmorenci, and Damville, and followed by eight hundred gentlemen on horseback, was seen to file down the avenues which led to the castle ; he was soon followed by the Chatillons, by the Vidâme de Chartres, the Prince de Porcian, and nine hundred of the inferior nobility and gentry.

The King of Navarre and Condé did not, however, attend. De Thou tells us that they had agreed with Coligny never to appear at the same time with him and in the same place, and the enterprises they were then secretly engaged in made it doubly imprudent to visit the Court. Their secretary, La Sague, came instead.

The Assembly met on the 21st of August, in the Queen's Cabinet: it had only four sittings. The King, placed on an elevated seat, had on either side the Queen-Mother, and the Queen-Consort. The Princes his brothers, and the Cardinals of Bourbon, Lorraine, Guise, and Chatillon, were on his right. The Dukes de Guise and D'Aumale, the Constable, the Chancellor, the Maréchals de St. André, Brissac, Montmorenci, and the Admiral de Coligny, on his left. Lower down were seated the Councillors of State, the Maîtres de Requêtes, the Secretaries of State, and the Treasurers.

[1] Garnier, Hist. France, 28, 349.

The King opened the Assembly by a speech; in which, after declaring his reasons for summoning the council, he prayed each one present to deliver his opinion with candour and sincerity.

The Queen-Mother followed more at large; entreating all present to give the King their ideas on the best means of preserving the crown, and effectually relieving the people.[1]

De l'Hôpital spoke next. He affirmed that the divisions in religion, and the disorder of the provinces, were the main causes of that general spirit of insubordination which prevailed.

Then the Duke de Guise, as Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, laid upon the table an account of the military force now at the King's command; proving that, far from being sufficient to preserve internal tranquillity, it barely sufficed for the defence of the frontiers.

Next the Cardinal de Lorraine summarily exposed the state of the finances; shewing that, in spite of every retrenchment that could be made, the annual expenditure exceeded the receipts by 2,500,000 livres. This proceeding closed the first sitting.

The 23rd, the Assembly met again; and the members had no sooner taken their places than the Admiral rose, and, bending his knee twice to the ground, approached the King, and presented two papers. Then, raising his voice, so that he might be distinctly heard by all present, he said, "That having been sent into Normandy by his Majesty's orders, to inquire into the cause of the troubles which agitated that province, he had found that the first and main reason was the persecutions on account of religion." He added, "that great numbers, in that part of the country, who professed the Reform, had requested

[1] I have followed De Thou in the account of this council.

him to present their humble petitions upon this subject to the King, which he had now accordingly done, not thinking it right to disappoint the wishes of so many worthy people."

The King accepted the papers, and ordered De l'Aubespine, Secretary of State, to read them aloud. They were of similar tenor, one being directed to the King, the other to the Queen-Mother, and were thus designated :—

"*Requête de la part des fidéles de France, qui desirent vivre selon la Réformation de l'évangile ; donnée pour presenter au Conseil tenu à Fontainbleau au mois d'Aout,* 1560." (Petition on the part of the faithful in France who desire to live according to the principles of the Reformation; presented to the Council held at Fontainbleau in the month of August, 1560.) [1]

A few extracts, in the words of the petition itself, will prove the best evidence of that peaceable and reasonable spirit which animated the Calvinists.

"Au Roy,

"Sire, . . . We your very humble and most obedient subjects, scattered in very great numbers throughout this kingdom, desiring to live according to the rule of the Holy Gospel, protest before God and you, that the doctrine we follow is no other than that contained in the Old and New Testaments ; and that the faith which we hold is that very faith comprehended in the Apostolical Symbol (*Symbole des Apôtres, i. e.* Apostles' Creed), as appears by our confession, which has before been presented. And that our greatest desire, after the service of God, is to hold ourselves always in obedience to your Majesty, and to the magistrates ordained by you ; rendering to you that subjection and those duties, which faithful subjects owe to their prince.

[1] Mém. de Condé.

"Therefore, we first supplicate your Majesty to be pleased to do us this grace and favour, not to lend ear to those who most wrongfully accuse us of seditions, mutinies, and rebellions against your State; seeing that the Gospel, of which we make profession, teaches us the exact contrary . . . for we confess that we never so well understood our duty towards your Majesty, as since we have learned it by means of the holy doctrine preached unto us. It being, therefore, your proper office to maintain and defend those who desire to live after a Christian manner and to render you due obedience, from the excesses, violences, and outrages which they suffer from those who are enemies to the Gospel.... We humbly entreat your Majesty, in order to take away one main occasion of such disturbances,—arising chiefly on the part of those of religion differing from our own . . . that you would be pleased to allow us *temples of our own* . . . according to the number of the faithful in every city and town; in which temples we may assemble during daylight, in all modesty and gentleness (*douceur*), to hear the holy word of God, offer prayers for the prosperity of your state (*état royal*), and receive the holy sacraments as ordained by our Lord Jesus Christ; without being disturbed or molested by those who know not the truth in God. And because we are taxed with sedition, and with making nocturnal and illicit assemblies; if, after having obtained such place, we are found to congregate elsewhere, or do anything in any manner contrary to the public peace, we are content to be punished as both seditious and rebellious. And this indulgence will be a certain means of extinguishing the present troubles . . . for, Christians being permitted to show themselves openly, an end will be put to all secret and suspicious assemblies. . . . . .

"Moreover, desiring, as we do, only to live in peace

and tranquillity under the protection of your sacred care; rendering unto you joyfully such things as are due from subjects to their sovereign lord. We will, if it be desirable, *consent to pay larger tributes than the rest of your Majesty's subjects*, in order to shew how wrongfully we are accused of a wish to exempt ourselves from those it is your pleasure to impose. All these things, if it please your Majesty to ordain, it will bring great repose to your kingdom, and engage us yet the more to pray God for the happiness of your Majesty," &c. &c.

The last proposal effectually absolves the Protestants from any design to create a party, in order to form a factious opposition to government. Certainly no regulation could be better imagined to limit their numbers, and confine them strictly to such as adhered to the cause upon conscientious grounds alone.

The King, having graciously accepted the petition, requested the members of the Assembly to deliver their opinions in succession upon the subjects in debate, beginning with the youngest.

The Bishop de Valence then rose, and addressed the Assembly. His speech, in length nearly twenty-six octavo pages, is preserved in the Memoires de Condé; as is that, of nearly equal length, delivered by Charles de Marillac, Bishop of Vienne. They are loaded with those quotations from ancient authors, and appeals to ancient history, which encumber the oratory of the time; but contain so many curious hints as to the state of opinions and manners, that no apology is here made for inserting pretty copious extracts.

Speaking of the state of the kingdom, the Bishop of Valence thus expresses himself:—"Numbers of your subjects are become disorderly (*déréglés*), and have forgotten the love, honour, and reverense due to your ministers,

whether of justice or of religion, and, indeed, to all superiors of whatsoever denomination, so that we cannot but call to mind the words of Isaiah the Prophet, — 'In that time, the priest shall be as the people, the master as the servant, the maid as her mistress, the debtor as his creditor;' that is to say, all ranks and conditions shall be confounded; and this we see everyday among us. Once, your officers were everywhere honoured; your very name alone carried with it more terror to evil doers than all the powers of your kingdom. But in a little space the change has been so great, that we hear of nothing but seditions and rebellions,—of edicts disobeyed,—and those repulsed with arms who endeavour to maintain them; while the ecclesiastical order is fallen into such contempt, that a churchman dare scarcely avow his profession." . . .

He then proceeds to treat more particularly of the new opinions in religion. "This doctrine, Sire," he says, "which engages your subjects has now been sowed for thirty years. It was taught by three or four hundred ministers, diligent and learned, with great modesty and appearance of sanctity, professing to detest all vice, most especially that of *avarice;* fearing not the loss of life to confirm their teaching; having always Jesus Christ in their mouths—a word so sweet, that it opens the closest ears, and flows softly into the most hardened hearts. Preachers such as these found the people without pastor or shepherd to lead or instruct them; they were readily received and eagerly listened to. Nor can we marvel that numbers have embraced this doctrine, by so many tongues, and in so many books, thus diligently taught."

"Now, let us discourse of the means which have been used to restrain this infection. To begin with the Pope. I protest it to be my desire to speak of the Holy Chair with due reverence; but my conscience obliges me to de-

plore the misery of Christendom, —combated from without,—troubled from within,—torn by such diversity of opinions,—while the Holy Pontiffs give so little heed to the maintenance of order, that they are busied only with war, and with the promotion of enmity and dissension among princes.

"The Kings, your predecessors, moved with zeal, have ordained heavy pains and penalties, thinking thereby to eradicate these opinions; but they have been deceived in their anticipations and frustrated in their designs; while the ministers of justice have greatly abused the ordonnances, executing them with a wicked zeal to please the great who demanded confiscations; which were only to be obtained through false accusations.

"Any villainous president or officer of justice, to cover his own past crimes, had only to demand one of these commissions, and shelter his abuses under the appearance of zeal,—as if religion could be maintained by lies and wickedness! Can we wonder that the people are irritated, when those whose intention it is to commit crimes have only to shelter themselves under the mantle of justice?

"As for the Bishops, they are for the most part idle, having no fear before their eyes of that account which they must render unto God of the flocks committed to their charge. Their principal care is to preserve those revenues, which are abused by being wasted in foolish and scandalous expenses, so that we may have seen forty prelates residing at one time in Paris, while the flame was spreading in their dioceses. We behold bishoprics frequently bestowed upon children and ignorant persons, wanting both the knowledge and the desire to do their duty..... The curés are avaricious and ignorant, occupied in anything but their charge; their benefices having been,

for the most part obtained by illicit means. *Autant de deux ecus, que les banquiers ont envoyés à Rome; autant de curés nous ont ils envoyés* (so many crowns as the bankers have sent to Rome, so many curés has Rome returned.) Cardinals and bishops have made no difficulty in bestowing benefices on their maîtres-d'hôtel, valets de chambre, cooks, barbers, and lacqueys; while the lower priests, by their avarice, ignorance, and licentiousness, are odious and contemptible to all the world."

He next proposes his remedies; and, as the first, he classes the cultivation of a religious spirit, proposing, as the best means, the study of the Scriptures; and enlarging long upon the advantage of singing, what he calls, the *Balmes de David,*—addressing himself to the two Queens, —" instead of *folles chansons*" in use among their ladies. He next recommends a general council; and, till it can be assembled, a cessation of all penal inflictions on account of religion—bearing this testimony to the virtues of the Reformed, " Many there are who have received this doctrine, and retain it with such fear of God, and reverence for you, that for worlds would they not offend you. Both their life and death instruct us that they are moved alone by a fervent zeal, and ardent desire to seek the true road to salvation; and, having, as they think, found it, they will not depart from it,—counting, in this regard, for nothing the loss of worldly goods, all the torments that can be endured, and even death itself. And, I confess, that whenever I think upon those who died with such constancy the hair rises upon my head; and I deplore our own misery, touched neither by zeal for God, nor by zeal for his religion."

The speech of Marillac, which followed, is praised by Le Laboureur as *le dernier effect de la science la plus consommée;* yet, enlarged as was the understanding of

this eminent man, his opinions upon toleration, we may remark, were little in advance of the erroneous ones of his age. *Unison*, instead of *harmony*, he still regarded as the grand desideratum in religious affairs.

"The two columns on which the state is supported," says he, "are conformity in religion (*l'intégrité de la religion*), and the good-will of the people." To secure these two objects, he advises the immediate assembly of a National Council, and of the States-General, and justifying this latter advice against those "who cannot approve of such an assembly, alleging it to be a thing long fallen into disuse, and detrimental to the King's authority," he, after detailing the miseries of the people oppressed by the *tailles*,—the poverty of the government,—and the scandalous rapacity of which the ministers are accused, adds, "By this custom of assembling the States, the throne of France has been maintained one thousand years. . . . Let those who advocate its discontinuance examine the evils which thence have arisen. Certainly they will find that, had this observance been maintained, we should have avoided many of the present calamities. For corruption would never have been suffered to proceed so far without being wholly or in part remedied. And, there is no well-ordered kingdom which does not follow this ancient and holy custom of assembling its States, as is seen in the Empire where Diets are held; in the kingdoms of Spain, England, Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, Bohemia, and Hungary. And, since so many Kings find the benefit of this custom, and esteem it the only method to preserve their dominions,—can we justifiably depart from that which we have so long preserved?"

When it came to Coligny's turn to harangue the Assembly, he inveighed against this new custom of surrounding the King with a formidable military force; which served

only to nourish a mutual distrust between the monarch and his subjects. He afterwards adverted to the petition he had presented, saying, that though unsigned, it was supported by 150,000 Protestants. Upon this the Duke de Guise, who had with difficulty repressed his passion during the whole speech, rose up, and cried, "Then he would lead a million good Catholics against them, to break their heads."[1] The Cardinal exclaimed that the petition was seditious, impudent, rash, heretical, and fanatical. At which words, the Admiral answering with considerable warmth, a violent contention ensued, which threatened at once to disappoint the whole object of the meeting. The King, however, restored order, though with some difficulty, and the deliberations continued. But here terminated and for ever, the long friendship of Coligny and the Duke de Guise; and one of the strongest bands which served still to hold together the distracted kingdom was ruptured in a moment.[2]

The Cardinal de Lorraine spoke one of the last, and his speech was little calculated to repair the breach which had been made. He said, "The opinions he had expressed were well supported by those petitions which the Admiral had just presented,—petitions proving anything rather than the obedience and fidelity of those who had prepared them; for, though it was true they professed obedience, it was always upon one condition, that the King should be of their opinion, and of their sect. And he put it to every one, whether it was reasonable to adopt the opinions of *de tels galands*, in preference to those of the King. As to allowing them temples, and places of worship, it would be to approve their *idolatry*,—a thing the King could not do without being *damned* for it eternally (*perpetuelle-*

[1] Brantôme, vie Guise. [2] La Place.

*ment damné*). With regard to calling a General or National Council, there was no great reason for it to reform the Church; that being a matter each church was competent to do for itself. Religious affairs had been so often settled and concluded, nothing was wanting but to observe what had been ordained. All the councils in the world could order nothing but to observe and obey those which had gone before. It was easy to see what all these petitioners would be at, by their libels and placards, which came out every day, and of which he had at that moment two-and-twenty lying upon his table, all written against himself. Things which he carefully preserved; looking upon it as his highest honour to be blamed by such wretches,—being a testimony to his life and opinions, which he trusted would render his name immortal." [1]

He concluded that such seditious disturbers of the people ought to be grievously punished, and more especially when found in arms, as had lately been the case. "But, as for those who, without arms, and for fear of being damned, went to their preachings, and psalm-singings, and other particularities that they observe,—since punishment has as yet done nothing,—he was of opinion that the King should no longer pursue them *par voye de justice;* being himself sorry that they had already proceeded to such rigorous executions: for, he declared, that if his life or his death could serve these poor misled creatures, he would expose them courageously and freely" (*d'un très grand courage et très libéralement*).

With regard to the States-General, he was decidedly of opinion that they should be called, "*Afin de rendre resolu et paisible un chacun de la bonne administration*

[1] Regnier de la Planche.

*que le Roy fait des affaires de son royaume, et de leur faire voir au doigt et à l'œil la bonne espérance de mieux.*"[1]

After the Knights of the Order had given their opinions, and expressed their concurrence with those of the Cardinal de Lorraine, the Assembly came to the following unanimous resolutions: — 1st. That the States-General should be immediately assembled; and, 2nd, That if the Pope still persisted in delaying to summon a General Council (*Concile Œcumenique*), that a National Council should be convened; in furtherance of which, an assembly of bishops was fixed for the 16th of January, 1561, either to communicate with a General Council, should such by that time be appointed, or to deliberate on the assembling of a national one.

To these resolutions were added others for the arrest and punishment of all seditious persons; at the same time that proceedings on grounds of religion were for the present suspended.

Letters patent were accordingly issued, directed to all bishops, seneschals, judges, and magistrates, publishing the Assembly of the States at Meaux on the 10th of December following; after which the King dissolved the meeting, and every one returned home.

[1] In order that the good administration of affairs made by the King of his kingdom might be made manifest to all.

## CHAPTER VI.

THE CARDINAL'S RAT-TRAP.—LETTER OF COLIGNY AND PROCEEDINGS AT ORLEANS.—ARREST OF CONDE.—DEATH OF FRANCIS THE SECOND.

It may at first excite surprise, when the spirit of their policy is considered, to find the Guises thus advocating an appeal to a popular assembly; but the Cardinal de Lorraine had the sagacity to perceive that no more formidable engine can be wielded by the hands of power, than a representative assembly chosen under certain circumstances — and that these circumstances existed to their full extent at the present moment in France. The mode of election rendered it easy for the government to influence or overawe those entrusted with the choice

of the Deputies; and, under the sanction of an assembly thus constituted, the Lorraines presumed that schemes might be ventured upon far too audacious, and too barbarous, to be attempted on their private responsibility alone. To decimate a kingdom by cutting off without remorse, a whole body of individuals attached to a certain class of opinions (the Protestants were estimated at a tenth of the population); and to terminate upon a scaffold the pretensions of Princes, whose cause was advocated by one-third of the nation; such were the desperate schemes which, incredible as it may appear, (*history leaves no doubt of it,*) were seriously entertained by the Guises, and the council of government.

Convinced that while the Calvinist party existed in the state, it must serve as an effectual check upon their power, and finding all the ordinary modes of legal oppression ineffectual to check its increase, the Cardinal de Lorraine had decided upon extermination.

His project was founded upon a certain Formula of doctrine or Confession of Faith drawn up during the reign of Francis the First, that is to say in the year 1543, by the Faculty of Theology, which its members had been required to sign, and strictly in their preaching adhere to. Subsequently, letters-patent had been issued by that King, declaring all of the laity seditious and disturbers of the public repose, who, either in public or private, dogmatised in any manner repugnant to the propositions contained in this formula. This regulation, which though long fallen into neglect had never formally been abrogated, the Cardinal drew from oblivion, and proposed it as the basis of his future operations.

It was determined that the King, having the support of the Catholics, who would infallibly prevail in the States-

[1] De Thou; Regnier de la Planche; Garnier.

General, should propose the adoption of this formula as a fundamental law of the state. That the King, having first himself signed it, should next present it for subscription to the great officers of state, to the cardinals, the higher nobility, and to the knights of the order, exacting, at the same time, from each individual an oath "Not only to hold and keep it individually, but to pursue as public enemies, and without regard to father, mother, wife, brother, sister, relation, or friend, whoever should in any manner contravene it; and if any one refused this formula, or delayed to sign (they made sure that the Chatillons would be among the number), then his Majesty should, without other inquisition, degrade them from all their estates, dignities, or honours, and send them the next day to be burned without mercy (*le lendemain les envoyer bruler tous vifs*)."[1]

It was proposed to administer this formula to every individual throughout the kingdom, arrived at years of discretion. It was by the Chancellor to be offered to the higher officers of the law, and by these to the inferior branches of the profession; by the bishops to their canons and abbots, by these to the monks and curés; and, lastly, each curé, assisted by a notary, was to present it from house to house, to every individual within his parish. Finally, the two Queens were enjoined to require the signature from every lady belonging to their respective households.

This profession of faith to be made "*sous peine aux defaillans d'estre brulés, sans autre forme ou figure de procés.*"[2] The Cardinal called his rat-trap—*aussi appelloit le Cardinal cette confession sa rationière.*[1] "And did it happen that any great prince or superior belonging to

[1] Regnier de la Planche.

[2] Under pain to recusants of being burned alive, without the necessity of any further form of proceeding.

their own party, yet refusing to sign the formula, should on that account be pardoned, he was hereafter to wear as a mark of perpetual infamy a robe of those colours adopted by the Inquisition in Spain to mark its criminals—of which an exact copy had been obtained."

The ensuing Christmas was appointed for carrying this resolution into effect: a chapter of the knights of the order was to furnish the occasion.[1]

The question naturally arises, by what means the Cardinal proposed to secure the execution of so horrible a measure. Garnier,[2] whose authority may be relied upon, assures us that preparations had been made to raise large bodies of troops, in addition to those already under the command of the Duke de Guise, "which separated into four divisions, commanded severally by the Duke d'Aumale, the Maréchals St. André, Brissac, and De Termes were to sweep the provinces from north to south, exterminating or driving before them every one who should be *found infected with the poison of this heresy.* The King of Spain and the Duke of Savoy were, on their side, to hold bodies of troops in readiness on the frontiers, either for the purpose of penetrating into France, or of closing the entrance of their states to the fugitives; in return for which, the King of France engaged to assist the King of Spain in carrying the same measure of purgation into effect in the Low Countries, and the Duke of Savoy in reducing Geneva."[3]

To pay these armies, large contributions, it was calculated, might be obtained from the clergy, "*deeply interested in the success of this measure,*" and should this resource fail, it was proposed, in order to furnish the necessary funds, to seize upon the treasures of the churches,

[1] De Thou; Garnier; Beza; De la Planche.

[2] Garnier, vol. xxviii.

[3] Garnier.

converting without scruple reliquaries, crosses, silver candlesticks, and even the chalices into French crowns. Garnier adds that, "it being considered certain that numbers of the Calvinist nobility, and more especially the Chatillons, with several among the deputies to the States, would refuse the formula, the utmost diligence had been used to strengthen and repair the prisons in Orleans, and the neighbouring cities; the largest tower amongst which that of St. Aignan, already bore the name of L'Amiral:"—

Every engine was now set at work by the government to influence the election of the deputies to the States: in general with success, but in some parts of the kingdom the Calvinists prevailed, and deputies of that persuasion were returned. The tumults and dissensions which arose upon such occasions may be imagined.

But the arrest and execution of the Bourbon Princes was the indispensable prelude to this scheme of carnage. Possessed of a leader at once so active, enterprising, and popular, as the Prince de Condé, the first rumour of the intended violence would have served to rouse the whole malcontent population to arms. The public mind, however, was not yet prepared to witness the sacrifice of the first Princes of the blood without horror; it was necessary to disguise the true nature of the measure by the form of a legal proceeding, and unfortunately the imprudence of the Prince afforded his enemies but too plausible a colour for their designs.

Among those who retired immediately upon the breaking up of the assembly at Fontainbleau, was La Sague—bearing letters for the King of Navarre, and the Prince de Condé. Betrayed to the Queen by one, in whom he had imprudently confided; he was arrested at Estampes, and carried secretly with all his papers to the Court. The

letters appeared to be merely those of compliment; but upon the torture being shewn to him, he confessed to a widely spread conspiracy, of which the Prince was the head, and in which Navarre took a large, though unavowed share; he desired them to bathe the cover of a letter to the Vidame de Chartres in water, and the most important secrets would be revealed. It thus appeared that the Prince was preparing to advance to Court with a large body of troops, seizing Poictiers, Tours, and Orleans by the way, while the Constable was to secure Paris.—Sennarpont, Picardy—the Duke d'Estampes, Brittany—and the Count de Tende, Provence. Such were the discoveries made by La Sague.[1] They were confirmed by the intelligence shortly afterwards received, that the south was in a state of almost open insurrection, and that an attempt had been made by the younger Maligny upon Lyons; which, from its vicinity to Geneva, and forming, as it were, the capital of the south, was a city of infinite importance to the designs of the Prince. This attempt was frustrated, chiefly through the indecisions of Navarre, and measures were immediately taken by the government to defeat the other projects. Bodies of troops were dispatched into the disaffected provinces; camps were formed at Pontoise and Melun, and the place appointed for the assembly of the States was transferred from Meaux, a town filled with Hugonots, to the strongly fortified city of Orleans.

The Guises were now, as they imagined, possessed of sufficient evidence to convict the Prince of high treason; nothing was wanting but the means to withdraw him from the security of Bearn, and lure him once more into their power. For this purpose the King of France wrote to

[1] It has been doubted how far his evidence was to be relied upon, but D'Aubigné, Hist. Univer., says, "il est certain qu'ils avoient tels desseins."

the King of Navarre; his letter is dated Fontainbleau, August the 30th :—

"MON ONCLE,

"I THINK you must well remember (être bien *recors*) the letters I wrote to you from Amboise,[1] when that commotion happened, and wherein I sent you word, concerning the Prince de Condé, my cousin, your brother, whom an infinite number of the prisoners charged heavily, (*chargés merveilleusement*). A thing that could not enter into my comprehension, for the honour of the blood to which he belongs, and which I bear to my relations. I hoped that time, and his conduct, would manifest the falsehood of these wretches; but I have since continually received so many advertisements from all parts of my kingdom, of his practices to the prejudice of my affairs, and the safety of my state; which, nevertheless, I never would believe, *jusqu' à ce que de fraische mémoire j'en ai vu si grande apparence*,[2] that I am resolved to satisfy myself and to know the truth. Not being inclined, through the madness of one of my subjects to spend all my life in trouble: and, therefore, Mon Oncle, as I have always been assured of your fidelity, I have chosen this present, in which I pray you, by all the service that ever you desire to do me, and as you hold my favour dear, to bring him to me yourself; a matter with which I would charge no one but you. Having no other intention, but that he should justify himself in your presence, from that with which he is charged; assuring you that I shall be as glad to find him innocent, and clear from so infamous a conspiracy, as I should be much grieved, that into the heart of a person of so good a race, and so nearly allied to me, (*qui me touche de si près*) such

[1] These letters may be seen in Capefigue, Hist. de la Reforme.

[2] Till they lately became so apparent.

unhappy determinations should have entered. Assuring you that if he refuses to obey me; I shall very well know how to let him understand I am King—as I charged M. de Crussol to make you comprehend from me, as well as many other things, wherein I pray you to credit him as myself, &c."

This letter was dispatched by the Comte de Crussol, charged by his instructions to omit neither persuasions nor threats to induce the Princes to comply with its demands. He was to insist much upon the expediency of the King conferring with Navarre, upon the business to be laid before the States-General; and upon the propriety of Condé appearing in company with his brother, to clear himself from the unpleasant rumours afloat with regard to them both. Should Navarre refuse to obey, Crussol was directed to communicate to him, as in confidence, that his ruin would be in that case certain, though he were able to bring twenty or thirty thousand men into the field: for that, at least, three times that force would be in readiness to invade his kingdom; as the King being resolved to put an end to these dissensions, would find means to assemble an army of forty-eight thousand French troops, besides Swiss and lansquenets, who were already enlisted; while the King of Spain had engaged to furnish two large armies, one to penetrate into France by Picardy, the other by Gascony.

Still the Princes hesitated and delayed.[1] But Catherine imposed upon the credulity of the Cardinal de Bourbon, by all those arts of duplicity which she so well understood. — Enlarging upon the affection she bore the Prince and her desire for his full justification — she gave her solemn assurance that should he appear she

[1] Garnier.

would herself protect him to the utmost against the malice of his enemies: and having demonstrated the imminence of the danger impending over the King of Navarre—who would be infallibly ruined in his attempt to resist the will of the two powerful sovereigns, between whose state his little kingdom lay enclosed— she persuaded him to follow De Crussol, and—blinded himself—to betray his brother into the toils. He was furnished, moreover, De Thou assures us, with the King's royal word, *sa parolle royalle,* that if they would appear "*on ne leur ferait pas de mal.*"[1] The arguments and persuasions of the Cardinal prevailed. Condé, too generous to occasion embarrassment or danger to the brother he loved, and whose protection had been extended to him, and relying upon the solemn assurances that he had received, resolved to accompany Navarre to Orleans. And, in spite of the tears and prayers of his most affectionate wife, who, better informed of the real designs of the Court, was upon her knees day and night to dissuade him, he began his ill-omened journey.

Immediately on being informed that the Princes were on their way, the King proceeded to meet them at Orleans; putting himself at the head of the camp of Pontoise, which consisted of one thousand two hundred lances, and seven or eight thousand veteran infantry. He traversed Paris in military array, drums beating, and colours flying, and having thus astonished his capital, advanced towards Orleans. He scattered, as he proceeded, a universal terror; the villages were deserted, the people fled at his approach, as from an invading army—the same silence and universal gloom as before attended his footsteps. The same evil reports were current, the same terror and avoidance every where to be observed.

[1] No harm should happen to them.

Cipierre, the governor of Orleans, had already demanded their arms from the citizens, who awaited in trembling expectation the arrival of their King.

The King made his entry into the city on the 18th of October, 1560, surrounded by his men-at-arms "more," says De Thou, "as the conqueror than as the father of his people. In all the streets and squares, bodies of armed men were posted; the city bore the appearance of a town threatened with a siege. Some great design seemed in agitation, men could not comprehend how a King, almost a minor—a child, full of sweetness and humanity, could require so many troops to defend his life, when he had given offence to no living creature."[1]

The common people, struck dumb with these unusual appearances, stood mutely gazing in the streets, and received their sovereign with the utmost coldness.

The Queen-Mother made her entry in the afternoon of the same day, magnificently attired; she was mounted upon her white *haquenée*, and surrounded by a troop of ladies, richly clad, and brilliant with youth, gaiety, and beauty; but terror had seized the crowd. No sign of rejoicing appeared; men trembled, for they knew not what—the Hugonots shuddered in secret: while the deputies for the States, who had already begun to assemble, were seized with apprehension, and many secretly returned home.

Having introduced a sufficient body of troops to ensure the obedience of the town, the Duke de Guise distributed the remainder in the neighbourhood: the intention being, it was evident, by these proceedings, to overawe the States-General, and carry into execution whatever measures might be deemed expedient against the Bourbon princes.

The King of Navarre had quitted Pau, with his brother, leaving the Queen Jane, and her two young children,

[1] De Thou.

in such security as his miserable little kingdom afforded. The princes travelled attended only by their ordinary household. On their way, they were continually met by gentlemen of their party with offers of service, and at length a general rendezvous was appointed at Limoges, a town under their *seigneurie*. As they proceeded further, they found all Aquitaine, as it was still called, in the greatest commotion; the Protestants busied in enrolling soldiers and levying contributions among the Churches; the Catholics in repressing assemblies and preparing against surprises. Commissions had been received from the King, empowering the most influential to seize upon the strong places, raise companies of soldiers, and hinder every assembly whatsoever for purposes either political or religious.[1] The authorities were allowed by these commissions to transport themselves from place to place, and imprison or kill, without mercy, whomsoever they could seize; and that they might not be embarrassed by the number of their prisoners, a *maître de requêtes* was authorised to proceed *en dernier ressort* against the criminals, and execute his sentences on the spot.

Though alarmed at what was passing, the princes continued to advance: when Marillac, Bishop of Vienne, anticipating the event, and filled with horror at the apprehension of that unmitigated tyranny which must result from the destruction of the Bourbons, wrote in the most urgent terms to the Duchess de Montpensier, to conjure her to save the blood-royal, and arrest this fatal journey; or, if that were now impossible, to take precautions to avert the catastrophe.[2] He represented the necessity of supplicating the good offices of foreign princes upon the occasion; and suggested that the Duke de Bouillon should, at all events, seize upon the children of the Duke

[1] Garnier. [2] La Planche.

de Guise, and detain them at Sedan or Jamets, as pledges for the security of the princes of Bourbon. He added, that it was too late now to flatter themselves that the tyranny of the Guises would prove its own destruction; for that their power was so well consolidated that nothing less was to be expected than the entire ruin and subversion of the monarchy; and he ended by praying to God to remove him from a world now become intolerable to him, seeing, as he was compelled to do, his King armed by strangers against those of his own blood, and against the oldest and most faithful of his subjects. The efforts of the Duchess proved ineffectual, and the bishop, yielding to despair, sank under the anguish of his apprehensions, and died on the 3rd of December.

The princes had now entered *France*,[1] and they found it impossible to return, for, under pretence of paying them honour, the Maréchal de Termes attended them so closely with a body of cavalry, that he blocked up the roads and effectually cut off all retreat.

No sooner was it known that they had crossed the frontiers, than many of their friends were arrested; among others, Madame de Roye,[2] mother of the Princess of Condé, and Groslot, baillie of Orleans, who had been denounced as a favourer of the Hugonots, by La Sague. D'Andelot, alarmed for his own safety, retired precipitately into Brittany, determined, if necessary, to pass into England. The Constable, already on his way to the States, paused, and under pretence of illness, returned to Chantilli; but Coligny and the Cardinal de Chatillon came openly to Orleans, were received with great courtesy

[1] As distinguished from Aquitaine. See in the Revue de Deux Mondes, June 15th, 1846, an account of the difference in the legal institutions of these two portions of the kingdom.

[2] Some say this took place after the arrest of the Prince.

by the Queen-Mother, and remained watching, with suspicious eyes, the proceedings of their daring enemies.

It seems extraordinary that, in spite of the precautions of the government, between seven and eight hundred gentlemen, armed and mounted, met the King of Navarre at Limoges.[1] Having assembled in his apartment, they offered, if he would openly espouse the cause of the Churches, to bring up in the course of a few days, no less than 6,000 men: adding, they had a promise of 4,000 in addition from the south, and an equal number from Normandy; but that, with the 6,000 men, they might open the campaign, and seize upon Bourges and Poictiers; having reason to know that whole companies of the *gens-d'armerie* only waited a favourable opportunity to join them. Anthony, incapable of a vigorous determination, hesitated, calculated, and at length decided that the enterprise was impossible. The gentlemen then proposed that he should continue his journey, leaving Condé to command them; but this he positively refused. He dared not appear in Orleans without his brother for whom he was rendered responsible;—and Condé, true to his generous nature, declared he would never secure his own liberty at the expense of his brother's safety.

"These lords and gentlemen then took leave, and the King of Navarre bade them take courage,[2] for all would yet end well—and added, that he made sure of obtaining their pardon from the King for having accompanied him thus far in arms. 'Pardon for us!' cried one, 'Prepare to ask it, and very humbly, for yourself—You, who are going to surrender with the rope about your neck—Pardon will be needed by you rather than by those who are resolved to sell their lives as dearly as they can; and sooner perish with arms in their hands, than submit to these ene-

[1] La Planche. [2] Ibid.

mies of God and the kingdom! And since we are so miserably destitute of chiefs, let us pray God to raise up some who will have pity upon us, and deliver us from the oppression of these tyrants.'"

At Poictiers, the princes found, to their surprise, the gates shut against them. Astonished at this affront, they paused, while their friends reiterated their entreaties that they would return; but the mistake was speedily rectified, the gates were thrown open, and they were received with every possible honour.

Yet, as they approached Orleans, a vague and undefined sense of apprehension began at length to steal over them. From that crowded Court and city no one came out to meet them. The public ways were deserted, all was silence and solitude. They entered the city upon the 9th of October—the gates were filled with the military—the walls manned — the streets and squares guarded — between lines of soldiers armed and prepared for attack, who insulted them as they passed, they approached the house of the unfortunate Groslot, where the King had taken up his residence. They here found the great gates of the court-yard shut, and being rudely told they must enter by the wicket, they dismounted in the street, and sought the King's presence.

Francis,[1] well prepared for their reception, was placed upon an elevated seat, attended by his uncles, and surrounded by a crowd of courtiers, not one of whom stepped forward to accost or welcome the new-comers. The King received them with extreme coldness, and, the usual ceremonies being over, led them to the Queen-Mother's apartments; where the Guises, it appears, not choosing openly to take a part in the proceeding they had prompted, did not accompany them.

[1] La Planche.

Catherine received them with tenderness, weeping over them, says La Planche, "crocodile's tears;" but a little reflection might have taught her to lament in bitter sincerity over this last triumph of the worst enemies of her house and children.

The King now turned upon Condé, and accused him in the harshest terms, of having conspired against his person and authority,—of cherishing designs upon his crown, of compassing to destroy at one blow his brothers and himself, and, contrary to every law divine and human, of carrying on the war against him in every place and in every manner wherein he could by possibility molest him. Condé, whose high spirit not all the circumstances of his situation could abate, answered with his usual animation—declaring such accusations to be black and detestable calumnies; and, flinging back the charge of treason upon his accusers, he enumerated all their tyrannies, cruelties, and crimes against the state, concluding by asserting his readiness, whenever called upon, and in whatever place, to prove his loyalty and his innocence. "If that be the case," said the King, "we will proceed according to the ordinary forms of justice;" and leaving the apartment, ordered the Captain of the guards to arrest and carry the Prince to prison.

Condé preserved his coolness and equanimity, but as he followed the officer and passed the Cardinal de Bourbon, he could not forbear saying, "*Eh bien, Monsieur, avec vos belles assurances vous avez livré votre frère à la mort.*"[1] The Cardinal could only answer by his tears. At the gate, the Prince's page enquired whether he should want his horse. "I shall never want him more!" was the reply. He was then carried to a house prepared

[1] Very well, Sir—with your fine assurances you have led your brother to the scaffold.

for his reception, where he was closely guarded, and all communication with his friends denied, even in the presence of his jailor.

The consternation of Navarre at this outrage exceeded all bounds, and he sank at once from the height of his vain security to the deepest humiliation and despair. In vain he entreated that the guardianship of his brother might be confided to him; in vain appealed to the promises of the King: he had to do with men insensible to the claims of honour, humanity, and even courtesy. "The King of Navarre," says Brantôme,[1] "thought, on his arrival, to carry everything with a high hand, and brave and disconcert the Court. *Ce fut à lui à caler et à faire, non du Prince, mais du simple gentilhomme.* I saw him come twice that evening to M. le Cardinal—once in his chamber, once in his garden—to solicit him to intercede for his brother; speaking to him uncovered, while the other was quite at his ease—*Se mettait très bien à son aise,—car il faisoit très grand froid.*"

His remonstrances with the Queen-Mother were equally ineffectual. She contented herself with throwing the blame upon the Duke de Guise, as Lieutenant-General of the kingdom; and that evening the lodgings of Navarre were surrounded with guards, and himself, though not actually a prisoner, closely watched.

A Commission was immediately appointed to try the prince, at the head of which we find Christophe de Thou, father of the historian; one of the most eminent and respected lawyers of his time—though it is agreed on all hands that the commission was illegal, "for, by the ancient laws and customs of France, a prince of the blood could not be judged but by the Assembly of the Peers of France."[2]

[1] Hommes Illust., Vie Condé.

[2] Le Laboureur, in his additions to the Mémoires de Castlenau, enters at large upon this question, and

The Prince denied the competence of the Commission, and refused to plead, demanding to be tried by the King and Peers of France in Parliament assembled; and, addressing De Thou, said that "he was astonished at his infinite impudence in daring to present himself before him as the Commissioner upon this occasion, knowing his quality as Prince of the blood,—being amenable as such to no other judge than the King, accompanied by his princes, sitting in Court of Parliament;" adding, that he, of all the "*bonnets ronds*" in the kingdom, ought to have kept himself clear of such a business ("*devoit s'abstenir de tel negoce*"), being, as he was, a well known slave to the Guises, his own mortal enemies.—De Thou could only reply, that he knew his place, but was there by command of the King.

The extreme uncertainty which attended the administration of law at this period—the absence of principles, the neglect of precedents, will be remarked by the reader.

At the urgent petition of the Princess de Condé counsel were allowed to the prisoner: by their advice he consented to answer interrogatories under a certain form; and the legal difficulties being thus, as it was imagined, surmounted, he was convicted of high treason. And, in an Assembly, consisting of some Knights of the Order, a few of the nobility, and most of the Privy Councillors, after an examination of the charges and informations against him, he was sentenced to lose his head: a sentence signed by all present, with one exception only—that of the Count de Sancerre.[1] "He supplicated the King very

decides, that no commission could legally take cognisance of a cause of the Prince of the blood; he ends, "Je conclus, comme j'ai commencé, que la condamnation du Prince de Condé ne fut point une affaire de commissaires."

[1] Mémoires de Castlenau—who was a Catholic, and a friend of the Queen-Mother.

humbly, to command him in any other thing or manner, for his service: but as for signing that paper, he could not — *et aymoit mieux qu'on le trancha la tête de son corps,*[1] *which astonished le dit Sieur* (the King) very much, and, looking at the Cardinal, he seemed to ask his opinion of what should be done.—But the Count, quitting the apartment, the Cardinal set all right by saying, "the count is an old madman, *un vieil fol*, &c. . . . ."[2]

"The presidents and maîtres de requêtes signed very willingly," adds La Planche, "and without putting the matter to deliberation—the King sending for them separately."

The Chancellor, however, under various pretences, delayed to affix his signature to the sentence; and his example was followed by one Councillor of state, Guillot de Mortier. The proportion of honest men, it seems, was small.

"The injustice of these proceedings made a great change in the minds of men,[3] and led them to pity and sympathise with the Prince, and to execrate the Lorraines. Nevertheless, in this its extreme distress, the house of Bourbon found itself alone, and deserted by every one but the Admiral, and the Cardinal de Chatillon."[4]

"The unfortunate Princess de Condé was day and night before his Majesty, with abundant tears, entreating to see and speak to her husband. . . . One day she broke into the presence, and, flinging herself upon her knees before the King, implored, with incredible lamentations, to be permitted to see her husband once more, neither to speak to nor to give him the least sign,—*ainsi pour avoir cette heure, de le voir encore une fois en sa vie.* But not all these cries and entreaties could move this Prince to pity: they only soured and angered him the more—telling her

[1] And would rather his own head was severed from his body.

[2] Regnier de La Planche.

[3] De Thou.

[4] Mém. du Castlenau—Additions of Le Laboureur.

that the Prince was his great and mortal enemy, and that he would have his revenge—and, as she entered upon his defence, and ceased not to importune the King, the Cardinal, who feared his Majesty might be moved to some pity, drove the Princess rudely out of the chamber, with the most brutal and insulting expressions; "*L'appellant importune, et fascheuse, et que qui lui feroit droit on la mettroit dans un cul de fesse, elle même. Ceux qui virent son ennui et sa passion, disoient que jamais n'on avoit parlé de la sorte.*"[1]

Condé preserved his courage and his serenity. He passed the most part of his time arguing with Robertet, his legal adviser, in defence of the justness of his conduct. "Defending it *très sommairement et très disertement;* alleging many memorable examples, in excellent terms, and with the most composed and assured countenance." He denied that his sufferings were to be regarded as a punishment from God, for he had in this matter given his Creator no cause of offence; and maintained "that he, with a conscience at rest, was not the real prisoner; but they, who, though enjoying their personal liberty, were yet loaded and enchained by the perpetual remembrance of their vices and crimes." He gave his advocates excellent instructions for his defence, and wrote letters of the tenderest consolation to his wife.[2]

Nothing could persuade him to make the slightest submission,—He regarded submission as inconsistent with his honour, "*far dearer to him than life.*" He refused to make any advances to the Guises; and replied to one who

[1] Calling her troublesome, and importunate; and that, if she was served right, she would be clapt up herself. Those who witnessed her anguish and passion declared that never had any one spoken so before.

[2] "Such was his light-heartedness that he often amused himself by setting his guards to play at children's games; running blindfold in a circle chalked on the floor, &c., till they adored him for his facility and sweetness."—La Planche.

wished to find expedients for a reconciliation, that there was no other settlement of the affair in such a case but at the point of the lance (*qu'il n'y avoit meilleur moyen d'appointement qu' avec la pointe de la lance.*)[1]

Equally dishonourable did he consider it to disguise his religious sentiments. A priest being sent into his chamber to say mass,—in order, it was thought, to put his religious constancy to the test, the Prince refused to hear him, saying, "He was there to justify himself against the calumnies of his enemies: a matter of rather more importance to him than to hear mass." This was taken very ill.[2]

Yet the Guises, in spite of their apparent success, were not without their apprehensions. The Constable still remained at Chantilly; and with so redoubted an adversary at large, they hesitated to carry the sentence recorded against Condé into execution. Besides, whilst the King of Navarre lived there would always remain one able to take advantage of the general indignation and avenge the death of his brother.

It was impossible to reach Anthony by a judicial sentence; his assassination was therefore resolved upon. And to screen their own heads from censure and responsibility, the King, young as he was, was himself pitched upon to undertake the office of executioner. This base manœuvre will not be thought inconsistent with the character of the Cardinal; but it is, unhappily, certain that the Duke de Guise himself was privy to the design. Francis was provided with a poignard, and instructed at their next interview to seek a quarrel, *à l'Allemand,* with Navarre, and in the course of it stab him with his own hands. Navarre being summoned into the

[1] Mém. de Castlenau, additions of Le Laboureur.

[2] Mém. de Castlenau, additions of Le Laboureur.

presence — the purpose for which he was called was hinted to him—Anthony showed on this occasion that in physical courage, at least, he was not altogether unworthy of his race. "I go," said he, "but never was skin sold so dearly as shall be mine." Then turning to his attendant, "If I fall, carry my bloody garment to my wife and son—though yet too young to maintain my quarrel he will live to revenge this treacherous murder." The resolution, however, of the young King failed him; and Navarre returned unhurt. It is said that the Duke de Guise on seeing him retire alive, exclaimed, "*Oh! le timide et lasche enfant!*" [1]

The 26th of November, the day appointed for the execution of Condé now rapidly approached. In vain the Chatillons made every effort to save him, in vain the Chancellor delayed to sign the sentence. The Guises and Catherine adhered to their resolution. But while the Prince awaited the dismal hour with magnanimous composure, a sudden change in affairs arrested his fate.

The King upon the morning of the 17th of November, as he was setting out for hunting, was seized with a sudden heaviness in the head which obliged him to return home; in a few days the most alarming symptoms appeared; an abscess formed in the brain and began to discharge through the ear; and his surgeon, Ambrose Paré, declared him to be in the greatest danger. There arose, as usual at that time upon occasion of sudden attacks of illness, a general suspicion of poison; and it was whispered that his valet de chambre, who chanced to be a Hugonot, horror-struck at the fate preparing for his leader, had poisoned the imposthume. But be the cause of the illness what it might the event at once changed the whole aspect of affairs.—With Francis the ministry of

[1] Oh! the weak and cowardly child!

the Guises would immediately expire, and under a King legally a minor, the depressed Princes of the blood must unquestionably rise to power and importance. In such circumstances the regency devolved as a matter of course upon the first Prince of the blood. The law of the land would confer it upon Navarre.

In this emergency the Lorraines made one desperate effort to preserve their ascendancy. They went to the Queen-Mother and solicited her, before it was yet too late, to put an end to the common enemies of both, and destroy the men whose vengeance, should they be allowed to survive the King, might produce consequences the most terrible to them all. They urged her, therefore, to order the immediate execution of Condé; and condemn the King of Navarre to suffer in his company, without incurring in his case the risk of delay by waiting for a judicial proceeding. But the Queen, whose eyes had been opened as to the nature of her true interests, during her secret conferences with the Chatillons and her friend the Duchess de Montpensier, refused to act in this business without consulting the Chancellor.

De l'Hôpital being sent for, found her in the greatest perplexity, "weeping among her women, who surrounded her in deep silence, their eyes fixed upon the ground." It was easy for him to point out, not only the monstrous injustice, but the glaring impolicy of the proceeding in question. He made the Queen comprehend the immense advantage in her present situation of holding in her own hands the balance between one mighty faction and the other; and of securing by the preservation of the Bourbon Princes, a check upon that overwhelming power of the opposite party, which threatened to enslave both herself and her children.

Catherine accordingly sent for Navarre. She had re-

solved to save him, but she determined to secure for herself as large a portion as possible of the power which events were about to lodge in fresh hands. Anthony found her with the Duke de Guise and the Cardinal, and now, while the King still breathed, and his fate, and that of his brother, might be considered uncertain,—leaving him no time to consult with his friends,—she contrived to extort from him a written promise that he would resign all claims to the regency in her favour; and even should the States—as it was certain they would — propose to confer the office of Regent upon him, that he would refuse it. In return for this important paper, Navarre was contented to receive her verbal assurance that he should be appointed Lieutenant-General of the kingdom; and having thus in a moment of weakness abandoned his own rights and those of his party, and degraded himself by the farce of an outward reconciliation with the Guises; he was given to understand as his reward, that the Queen would unite her interests with his.

The King died a day or two after, December the 5th, 1560, leaving no children, "little regretted,"[1] says Le Laboureur, "a real minority being less to be dreaded than a false and imaginary majority." His short and ill fated reign was characterised by one undeviating course of evil; and it may with truth be said, that this opportune death was the sole benefit he ever conferred upon his country. "One cannot," says a sensible French author,[2] "reflect without an involuntary shudder upon those tragedies of which France might have formed the theatre had Francis the Second lived longer. The gloomy temper of the Prince, nourished by a sickly constitution, and soured by the prejudices of those who

[1] Mém. de Castlenau, additions of Le Laboureur.

[2] Author of the Observations on the Mémoires de Castlenau.

surrounded him, was the more to be dreaded as he had naturally an immense fund of obstinacy. Accustomed to regard a portion of his family and a large part of his subjects, as enemies to his throne and life, it was probable each future day of his reign would have been marked by fresh proscriptions; and, as bloodshed only increases the necessity for blood, the sovereign authority would rapidly have degenerated, into the most sanguinary tyranny."

The Calvinists, delivered by his death from those dark apprehensions of impending evil, for which they had had but too sufficient cause, gave vent to the most excessive demonstrations of joy. Satires, songs, and caricatures swarmed. Of the verses, the following are inserted as no ill written character of this not less unfortunate than detested Prince.

" Quant à mes mœurs, je fus froid de nature,
Morné, hautain, parlant peu, triste, et coy,
Non point enfant à ce que j'entendoy,
N'y mal croisant de taille, et de stature:
Sobre de vin, de venus, et de vice,
D'oiseaux et de chiens j'aimai fort l'exercise;
Je n'eus regnant un seul jour de plaisance;
Et comme on vit peu à peu de poison,
Ainsi d'ennuy, de soin, et de soupçon,
Se nourissoit la fleur de ma jouvence;
Si qu'eux sucçans son humeur nourissante,
M'ont fait decheoir jà toute languissante.

The last act of influence exercised by the Cardinal de Lorraine over the King, was to engage him to make a solemn vow to *notre dame de Cléry*, that in case he was allowed to recover he would exterminate all the Protestants.

Little was the emotion his loss occasioned; his beautiful wife, Mary Stuart, was alone the one to weep his early decay. Catherine received the news that he had

expired with perfect indifference; and, as for all those who had shared his favour during life, they were far too much occupied by their interests to have time to lament his death. His remains lay unhonoured, his obsequies were neglected. "All these great personages," says Mézeray, "were so much occupied by their own affairs, that neither his mother nor his uncles took the slightest care for his funeral. Of so many great lords and bishops assembled at Orleans, only Sansac, La Brosse, and the Bishop of Senlis, who was blind, attended his body to St. Denys. . . . A billet, with these words, was found attached to his pall: —"*Tanneguy du Chatel où es tu? Mais il etoit François.*"[1]

Condé, upon this sudden turn of his affairs, manifested the same extraordinary equanimity which he had displayed under all the trying circumstances of his imprisonment and conviction. "His behaviour," says Le Laboureur, "had throughout appeared something above human nature; such was the greatness of soul which he displayed, the contempt of death and of his enemies, whom he would not propitiate by a single word." He was at cards with the captain of his guards, when Picard, his attendant, entered the room, big with the intelligence that the King had just expired. He made numerous signs, which served only to increase the Prince's curiosity and anxiety. At length Condé bethought himself to let fall a card, and stooping at the same time with his valet, as if to pick it up, Picard whispered in his ear, "*Nostre homme est croqué.*" The Prince finished his game without altering a feature.

[1] Tanneguy du Chatel was first Chamberlain to Charles the Seventh, and, after having rendered great services, was disgraced, and exiled to his estate. Hearing of the death of his master, and that the last duties were neglected, he hurried to Court, and made, at his own expense, a funeral, costing thirty thousand gold crowns.

# BOOK II.

## CHARLES THE NINTH.

## CHAPTER I.

ACCESSION OF CHARLES THE NINTH.—ARRANGEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT. —MEETING OF THE STATES-GENERAL.

CHARLES THE NINTH was eleven years of age when he succeeded his brother Francis; who died childless, aged seventeen years, two months, and one day.

The death of a boy barely seventeen years of age, sufficed to change in one hour the destiny of millions. Hundreds and thousands of innocent creatures arose that morning protected and secured, over whom all the horrors of a merciless proscription had been impending.—A kingdom on the eve of a civil war, was restored for the moment to peace and order,—a vast assembly, prepared to serve as the engine of a grinding oppression, was transformed into the organ of liberty, ready to carry the voice of the people to the throne: while prisoners lying under sentence of death—judicially convicted of crimes against the state —found themselves at once not only liberated, but absolved, and with the highest offices in their hands. The maxims of government—the rights of individuals—the very principles of morals seemed reversed—as a tyranny the most sanguinary was exchanged for a government breathing nothing but moderation and the love of the public good,—when the influence of the Cardinal de Lorraine gave way before that of Michel de l'Hôpital.

Such were the consequences depending upon the life of a sickly, peevish, and unpromising youth, ruled by a beautiful and inconsiderate young woman: such the effects to

a nation of uncertain constitutional principles, ill-defined laws, and an irregular administration of justice. With Francis expired the power of Mary Stuart; and with her that ambitious family sank, for the present, into comparative insignificance, which, supported by her influence, had governed with unbounded authority the affairs of France. Flattering prospects now opened to the country; but experience proved that from institutions so imperfect permanent good was vainly to be expected. The evil principle remained. The curse of instability lies at the root of every absolute monarchy. The sceptre passed, in this case, into other hands: time shewed them to be equally weak, and more dangerous; and the wisest and the best of men found it impossible to lay an enduring foundation of good in the shifting sand of such a system.

Catherine beheld herself, upon the death of her son, elevated at once into one of the most important situations which can fall to the lot of a human being. She stood the umpire between two great factions, by that event rendered pretty nearly equal in power—and held in her hands the means, by the practice of wisdom, firmness, and justice, so to rule both, as to preserve the peace and ensure the well-being of the large society committed to her charge. But, alas! for the weakness and the wickedness of that heart to which so much influence was permitted. The history of the next terrible half century is but a picture of the consequences arising from the mistakes and the crimes of her unprincipled ambition and narrow, vacillating policy.

The state of parties was now as follows:—The Guises were established as the leaders of the high Catholic party, contending for the exclusion of every religion but their own. Their principal friends were, the Cardinal de Tournon, the accomplished Duke of Nemours, Cipierre, governor

of Orleans, the Maréchal de Brissac, and the Maréchal de St. André,—a man rendered highly influential by his splendid fortune and shining talents. The troops assembled at Orleans might be considered entirely at their devotion; but their general popularity was at this time greatly upon the decline: their violent administration, their warlike preparations, and, above all, the rumours afloat of Spanish armies assembling on the frontiers, had excited almost universal discontent. On the other hand, the King of Navarre was supported by the Chatillons, the Prince de Porcian, and by the whole Protestant interest; and besides, was now invested with that authority which an unquestionable right to assume the government will always confer in the eyes of the multitude.

The Queen-Mother, it is said, was at first appalled by the magnitude of the task before her; but was speedily reassured by the conduct of these redoubted rivals. Mutual jealousy laid them both at her feet; each ready to exalt a power which might serve to curb an adversary, or to support themselves. They vied with each other in protestations of loyalty and obedience; and concurred in offering to her that regency which each dreaded to see in the hands of an antagonist.

The Queen, with considerable dexterity, secured her advantages; and assumed, with the general approbation of all parties, the reins of government. Not to curb, with vigorous resolution, the rising violence of faction,—not with the generous design to assuage contention, allay divisions, and heal the broken peace—the reflections of a mind such as hers drew unfortunately a far different conclusion from the circumstances before her. She believed she had discovered the secret of power in that dangerous maxim, which now, according to Davila, she adopted, of "divide and govern;" "and now pouring oil, and now

water,"[1] she strove to inflame those jealousies from whence she imagined her own strength would be derived.—Wicked, dangerous, and vain policy! as the event proved.

Before a final adjustment could be made of the different shares to be allotted to each eminent person in the new frame of the government, it was necessary to await the arrival of the Constable. He, on being informed of the King's danger, had immediately recommenced his suspended journey to the States at Orleans, and was impatiently expected by all parties; every one anxious to learn where the very considerable weight of his personal influence would fall. He arrived at Orleans with six hundred gentlemen; but the King had already breathed his last, and he was, therefore, too late to prevent that promise of resignation of all claim to the regency already given by Navarre to the Queen-Mother; a measure which was most deeply deplored by Coligny as a surrender of authority infinitely detrimental to the cause of the Reformed.

When Montmorenci at length arrived at Orleans, the Queen set every engine at work to attach him to herself; and, with that exquisite skill which she possessed of governing men by their weaknesses and their faults, she worked upon the vanity and the prejudices of the old statesman till she led him heartily to concur in all her arrangements.

The Council of State met on the 12th of December,[2] to arrange the government; which was done as follows:—The supreme authority, the Regency, though without the

[1] D'Aubigné, Hist. Universelle.

[2] The council of state consisted of the King of Navarre, the Cardinals Bourbon, Lorraine, de Tournon, de Guise, and Chatillon, the Prince de la Roche sur Yon, the Dukes de Guise, d'Aumale, and Estampes, the Chancellor, the Maréchals St. André and Brissac, Guillarde de Mortier, the Bishops of Orleans, Valence, and Amiens, and the Seigneur d'Avanson. It is evident that a large majority was attached to the Guises.—Mém. de Castlenau, additions of Le Laboureur.

title, was conferred upon the Queen. The Assembly coming to a resolution, "*Que le royaume ne pouvait être manié de plus digne main que de la dite dame.*" The King of Navarre was made Lieutenant-General of the kingdom; the Constable retaining the superintendence of the army, and the Duke de Guise his place of Grand-Master; each being to discharge his individual duty, subject to no control but that of the Queen. Catherine retained in her own hands the management of the finances, with the assistance of her secretaries—excluding Navarre from all interference therein: all letters upon civil business of every description were to be addressed to her; those on military matters alone to be addressed to Navarre, and by him to be communicated to the Council. The share of power allotted to Navarre was thus, it will be seen, very insignificant.

The secret articles of the treaty, in return for which he ceded so large a portion of the authority he might legitimately have claimed, were, it is said, the liberation of Condé, the relief of the Hugonots, and the depression of the house of Guise.

This last measure was not one to be ventured upon without extreme caution,—the power of that splendid family remained still formidable; indeed Brantôme gives the Duke de Guise credit for the greatest moderation, in that he did not at once, in defiance of law and custom, seize upon the reins of government.[1] "He shewed," says he, "when King Francis came to die at Orleans, that he did not possess that unwarrantable ambition as to take for himself (*s'impatroniser*) the kingdom of France, and make himself a demi-roy, as was so loudly said; no, nor even to make himself Viceroy, and govern both King and kingdom, and do his good pleasure therein. He gave them

[1] Brantôme, Hommes Illûstres, Guise.

all the lie (*leur donna à tous le dementi*). It was more than easy, had he pleased. He might have seized upon the King of Navarre, the Constable, and all who were flocking to the States; having, as I know, the whole Court at his devotion. I saw him seven or eight days after the King's death, going on foot a pilgrimage to Cléry: he drew after him all the Court and nobility, the King remaining almost alone, and his Court a solitude—occasion of great murmuring and jealousies."

"Besides he had from fifteen to twenty companies of veteran infantry in Orleans entirely at his devotion, who might have made all France tremble. What hindered him from disposing at his good pleasure of the King and all the rest *par la fumée des arquebuses de ces braves soldats?* Besides, except those of M. l'Amiral, those of the Constable and his children, he had all the *compagnies d'ordonnance* at his command. The greater part of the *gens d'armes* being devoted to him, on account of the Catholic religion now in danger, from that which was rising; and they loved M. de Guise greatly because they knew him for a good Catholic; and they mistrusted that if the King of Navarre was made Regent—whose religion was more than suspected—great troubles would arise, as afterwards was seen: nor can it be doubted, *que si alors on eut joué des mains basses, en ce lieu d'Orléans, comme il étoit aisé, nous n'eussions veu les troubles et querelles civiles qui se sont veus.*[1] Doubtless by these means he might have seized upon the person of the King, and possibly we might have seen France the happier for it, as I heard many great lords and captains say at the time. Even M. le Cardinal urged him much, but he would not listen to it, saying, 'it was neither of God nor

[1] That if they had laid about them at that time in Orleans, which would have been easy enough, we should never have seen all the troubles we have seen.

reason, (*de Dieu ni de la raison,*) to usurp the rights and authority of others; yet, methinks, in an affair of so much importance, such things might have been justly done—*ainsi, étoit trop conscientieux ce coup là, ce bon et brave Prince.*'" [1]

"M. le Cardinal, ecclesiastic as he was, had no such delicacy; had he been as full of valour as his brother—had he found in himself as much good courage, as inclination, he would have raised his banner; but he was naturally a poltroon, and he quitted the Court at that time through pure *poltronnerie;* and great was his mortification as he rode out of the town to hear the people crying in the streets and from the shops and windows, '*Adieu M. le Cardinal la messe est cassée.*'"

As for the Prince de Condé, the Queen-Mother early sent him word that he might consider himself at liberty, he replied, "That he could not quit his prison and leave his honour there. That the gift of liberty was an injury unaccompanied with the acknowledgment of his innocence, and the punishment of his accusers." On the Constable, however, pointing out, "that he would not be the less innocent for being free, and that the road to justification was less easy to one between four walls," he consented to quit his prison, and retired to his government of Picardy; attended, for form's sake, by his guards, who, either inclining to the new opinions, or won by the charm of his agreeable manners (*ses frequentations agréables*), were devoted to him.[2]

All eyes were now turned upon the approaching assembly of the States-General.

Immediately upon the news of the King's decease, the deputies had again crowded into Orleans. The Queen at

[1] So that good and brave Prince was a thought too conscientious upon this occasion.

[2] Matthieu, Histoire.

first fearing that this national assembly would claim its ancient privilege of appointing to the Regency, and might render vain her previous manœuvres by offering the supreme authority to Navarre, had been anxious to prevent their meeting. And the deputies themselves at this juncture were not unwilling to afford a pretence for their dissolution; for the most part of those secretly attached to the Reform, aware of the feeble influence their party must exercise in an assembly chosen under the late circumstances, had insinuated that the death of Francis necessitated the dissolution of the States, and that fresh elections must be made. But De l'Hôpital pointing out to the Queen-Mother the deplorable state of the finances, which rendered it impossible to carry on the government; and urging the necessity of obtaining, if possible, for her authority the immediate sanction of the States, persuaded her to allow of the assembly. The objections of the deputies were therefore overruled; and it was decided, that by the laws of the kingdom *le vif saisit le mort*,— that in France the King never dies, and his authority passes without interruption to his immediate successor. Upon the 13th of December, therefore, 1560, the States-General were solemnly opened.

The proceedings and deliberations of great national assemblies are among the most interesting portions of history; not only as conveying some of the best authenticated information with regard to national circumstances and manners; but as furnishing the most valuable materials towards the history of opinions — a history as important as that of actions. Upon this principle the industrious Garnier has preserved a most ample history of the States-General of Orleans, drawn from the authentic source of their own papers and documents. My limits will only allow me to select some of the most interesting

portions of his curious details, which will serve to illustrate, as briefly as the nature of the subject will admit, the manner in which such assemblies were at that time conducted; and the sentiments therein prevailing; adding to this any singular facts elicited in the course of their proceedings.

The ceremonies of the opening were as follows:—

"Upon the day appointed, the Duke de Guise, holding the *batôn* of Grand Master covered with black crape in his hand, and assisted by certain officers, called over in order the deputies of the several *bailliages*, and assigned them their places in the hall of Assembly. The hall was divided into two parts, the upper and the lower. In the centre of the upper, two seats were placed of equal height for the King and for the Queen-Mother; upon the left of the Queen, on seats less elevated, were placed Madame Marguerite de France the King's sister, Madame Renée de France Duchess Dowager of Ferrara, his father's sister, and after them the Cardinals de Tournon, Lorraine, Bourbon, Chatillon, and Guise, according to the dates of their promotion. On the right of the King, on seats less elevated, Monsieur, afterwards Henry the Third, the King of Navarre, the Dauphin d'Auvergne, eldest son to the Duke de Montpensier, and the Prince de la Roche-sur-Yon, princes of the blood, with the Prince de Joinville, eldest son of the Duke de Guise. Upon stools somewhat advanced in front of the line, right and left of the throne, sat the Constable holding the naked sword, and the Chancellor, having at their feet each two huissiers kneeling, and holding up their maces. Upon the footstep of the throne the Duke de Guise, as Grand Chamberlain, the *batôn* of Grand Master lying between his knees. Before the Princes of the blood, two steps lower, was a bench upon which were the Grand Ecuyer, the Admiral de

Coligny, the Maréchals de St. André and Brissac. Before the Cardinals, in the same manner, the Bishops of Orleans, Valence, and Amiens, and the remainder of the Councillors of state were placed. Round a desk in the centre of the semicircle the four Secretaries of state. Behind the chair of the Queen her gentlemen of honour. Behind those of her sons were their two governors. On each side of the fire-place the four captains of the guards. Round the outside of the circle the gentlemen of the King's chamber, each his *batôn* in his hand. And on the steps separating the superior from the inferior part of the chamber the superintendants of the finances. The inferior side was filled with benches more or less elevated. On the right sat the Bishops, and the deputies for the clergy. On the left the Knights of the Order, Barons, and deputies of the nobility. The centre was occupied by the deputies for the *tiers état.* The Kings-at-arms occupying the entrance of the barrier which separated the deputies from crowds of spectators.

"When all had taken their places a herald proclaimed that the King desired every one to be seated and covered. Then the Chancellor rose and knelt at the King's feet, as if to receive his orders, after which he returned to his place, and extending his hand, addressed the assembly as follows:—

"'MESSIEURS.—Dieu qui donna la volonté au feu Roi François d'assembler. et semondre les états de son Royaume en cette ville d'Orleans, ha icelle continuée au Roy Charles, son frère, nostre souverain Seigneur, et à la Reine mère des deux Rois. Et combien que par la mort du feu Roy sembloit que les états dussent être obtemperées et que le changement du Roy dut apporter avec soy mutation de beaucoup de choses toute fois le changement n'a

apporté non seulement aucunes nouvelles esmeutes et seditions ainsi ha appaisé et admontés celles qui lors estoyent. Et comme nous voyons à un jour obscur et pleine de nuées et brouillards, que le soleil à sa venue rompt et dissipe la nuée et rend le temps clair et serein, ainsi le visage de notre jeune Roy ha percé jusqu' au fonds des cœurs des Princes du sang et autres Seigneurs, ha chassé et osté tous soupçons, passions, et affections qu'ils pouvoient avoir, les a pacifiés, liés, et unis tellement ensemble, qu'il n'y a maison privée, où les frères soyent si bien amis, concordans, et obéissans, comme sont les dits Princes et Seigneurs, envers le Roy leur Seigneur, &c."[1]

After a multitude of illustrations of the advantages of unanimity, praise of the King, and of the Queen-Mother whom he calls "*très sage et vertueuse Princesse*," he proceeds :—"Now, gentlemen, because we are about to renew the ancient custom of holding the States, neglected for the space of nearly eighty years—a time to which the memory of man cannot attain—I will in few words explain what is meant by 'holding the States—for what cause they were used to be assembled, who presided therein, and what advantage by our Kings was thence

[1] "GENTLEMEN,

"God, who had given to the late King Francis the desire to assemble the States of his kingdom in this his town of Orleans ; has to his brother King Charles, our present Lord and Master, this same continued, as likewise to the Queen, mother of both Kings. And though by the death of the late King it would seem that the States should be put off, and that the change in the King's person should bring divers other changes — not only has this change excited no new troubles or seditions, but has appeased and quieted those which we have seen. And as we behold on a black and cloudy day that the sun at his rising breaks the dark and renders the sky clear and serene, so the rays from the countenance of our young King have penetrated to the hearts of the Princes of the blood, and other Nobles, and dissipated all suspicions, passions, and affections, that might have been there entertained, and has so pacified, bound, and united them together, so that now there is no private family in which the brothers are better friends, or more accordant and obedient than are the said Princes and Lords towards the King their master."

derived, and what by their people.'" He then goes on to say, "It is certain that our ancient Kings were accustomed to hold the States, which were either assemblies of the people, or of deputies appointed by them." He adds, "*Ceci estoit ancienment appellé tenir le parlement et encores a retenu ce nom en Angleterre et Ecosse.*"[1] "The States were assembled for divers reasons, either to demand aids in men or money, to regulate affairs of justice, or to bestow appanages on the children of France. The Kings in person there presided—save at those States once summoned for the most noble question that ever was laid before them, that is to say, to decide on whom the crown ought to devolve after the death of Charles le Bel, whether upon Philip de Valois, or upon Edward of England. The King Philip did not therein preside, *car il n'estoit encore Roi, il étoit parti.*"[2]

After combating at great length, and in the tedious and confused manner common to the oratory of the times, the opinion that the frequent holding of the States-General impaired the kingly authority, we come to his opinion of the duties of such an assembly. "*Leur devoir est,*" says he, "*supplier très humblement le Roi* et obéir."[3]

He next enters into an inquiry as to the cause of the present seditions, and among other things says, "Sedition arises either from the discontent of those who feel themselves ill treated or despised, *ou de crainte qu'on ha de lumière,* (or from the dread which is entertained of light), or from general want of employment, poverty, and necessity." Among the unemployed, he particularly enu-

[1] This was anciently called holding a parliament, and yet retains the name in England and Scotland.

[2] For he was not yet King, he was a party interested.

[3] The intention of them is, that they should humbly petition the King and *obey*.

merates the military adventurers, *marris de la paix*, refusing to submit to law or order, accustomed to exist on plunder and the labours of others, either incapable or unwilling to till the ground.

When he comes to explain his notions of the relative duties of the several ranks of society, we meet with ideas singular enough. Those relating to the obligations towards kings might suit the present atmosphere of Russia, and are certainly very remarkable in the mouth of a man, stigmatised, in his own times, with the reproach of what we should now call ultra-liberalism. "*Le Roi ne tient sa couronne de nous, mais de Dieu, et de la loi ancienne du Royaume. Il donne et distribue les charges et honneurs à qui lui plaist; tellement qu'on ne peut, ni doit, lui dire pourquoi: nous sommes en ces mains comme jetons que maintenant il fait valoir un, maintenant mille.*"[1] The duty of subjects is to obey "*par vraie obéissance, qui est de garder ses vrais et perpetuels commandemens, c'est à dire ses ordonnances; et ne voulussent s'égaler à lui, se dispensans des dits lois et ordonnances, auxquels tous doivent obéir, et sont sujets, excepté le Roi seul.*"[2]

The ideas of De l' Hôpital upon religious matters appear strangely contracted for a man, the apostle of toleration. Of toleration in the modern acceptation of the word,—that is to say—a respect for the right, inherent in every man, to worship his Creator in the manner most consistent with his own conscience,—it is plain he had as yet a most imperfect conception. Uniformity instead of harmony, being still,

[1] The King does not hold his crown from us, but from God, and the ancient law of the kingdom. He gives and distributes places and honours to whom it pleaseth him, so that no one ought or can ask of him the wherefore: we are but counters in his hands, to which sometimes he gives value, at others renders as nothing.

[2] In true obedience, that is to say, to keep his true and perpetual commandments—in other words, his ordonnances. No one is equal to him, all being bound by such laws and ordonnances, save the King alone.

in his view, the proper aim of legislation upon religious subjects. He lays it down as a maxim, that it is madness to expect concord between those of different religions, "*C'est folie d'espérer paix, repos, et amitié entre les personnes qui sont de diverses religions.* We see every day that a French and an Englishman, being of the same religion, will hold each other in more affection and friendship than two inhabitants of the same city, subjects of the same Lord, who are of divers religions."—But he overlooked the cause which produced such effects.

He regarded liberty of conscience with the eye rather of a legist than of a moral philosopher; seeking a tribunal competent to decide upon differences — whereon no human authority can justly decide—rather than the means of cutting at once the root of dissension by permitting no one to interfere with the conscience of another. In common, it must be owned, with all the Protestants of that day, the remedy he proposed for religious quarrels was either a National or Œcumenical Council, before which the professors of the contending religions should be at liberty to support by argument their opinions, and which Council should be competent to decide upon *what was truth*, and afterwards to exact submission to its decrees. "*Est difficile que les hommes estants en telle diversité d'opinions puissent se contenir de venir aux armes .... est besoin oster la cause du mal, et y donner quelque bon ordre par une sainte Concile.*"[1] Again, "*Tu dis que ta religion est meilleure, je defens la mienne; lequel est la plus raisonnable, que je suive ton opinion, ou toi la mienne, or, qui en jugera si ce n'est pas une sainte Concile?*"[2] He recommends, at the same time, the utmost lenity towards the Reformed.

[1] It is difficult for men living in such diversity of opinions to avoid coming to blows ..... the cause must be obviated by a holy Council.

[2] You say your religion is best,—I defend my own—which is in the right?—you or I; and who can judge between us but a holy Council?

This speech concludes with an earnest recommendation to consider the lamentable state of the finances; and promises, in return, on the part of the government, to receive "*benignement et gracieusement, les plaintes, doléances, et autres resquêtes,*" that should be presented by the Assembly.[1]

This discourse of the Chancellor, though listened to with the greatest attention, did not altogether satisfy the deputies of the States. Many were displeased that in speaking of the King of Navarre he had seemed to consider him as inferior to the Queen-Mother; some thought it strange, that in treating of the obedience due by all to the law, he had excepted the King.

It was the custom, after listening to the harangue of the Chancellor, for the States to assemble in one chamber, and, before proceeding to dispatch of business, to choose an *Orator* (Orateur). It was the duty of the Orator, upon the conclusion of the deliberations, to make known to the King the resolutions of the Assembly, and present the *cahier* with an explanatory harangue. After choosing the orator, the custom was for the Orders to adjourn to separate chambers, there to prepare what was called the *cahiers*, of those complaints and demands with which they had been entrusted by the electoral assemblies. They afterwards re-assembled in one chamber, to reduce their several cahiers into one, which was presented by the orator to the King, as containing the prayers and complaints of the nation at large.

Accordingly the Chancellor appointed the three orders to assemble the next day, in the Hall of the Cordeliers; but at the appointed hour the Clergy alone presented themselves. The Noblesse and the Tiers État had assem-

[1] The speech of De l'Hôpital is given by La Place and Regnier de la Planche, at length.

bled, it was found, separately, one at the Jacobins, the other at the Carmelites.

The clergy proceeded alone to choose an Orator, and named unanimously the Cardinal de Lorraine: a deputation was sent to the other orders, to invite their concurrence in this nomination; but they refused, saying, "they could not with propriety choose as their organ one they might find themselves under the necessity of impeaching," and immediately proceeded to choose orators of their own. The Nobles chose Jacques du Tilly, Baron de Beaufort; the Tiers État, Jean l'Ange, Advocate at the Parliament of Bordeaux.

The Cardinal de Lorraine on this refused the office of orator altogether, and indeed thought it prudent soon afterwards to leave Orleans, under pretence of accompanying his niece, Mary Stuart, to Scotland. Jean Quentin, Canon of Nôtre Dame, was then chosen in his place.

Thus were the States split into three chambers. That they should vote by chambers was the interest of the Protestant party; the Nobles and the Tiers État being both united against the Clergy. This manœuvre is mainly to be attributed to the Chatillons, it being their object to obtain from the Chambers the appointment of Navarre to the Regency,—a measure regarded as of the very first importance to the interests and protection of the religious.[1]

On the 21st of December, the plan of the new government, as arranged in the Council of the 12th, was, by command of Catherine, laid for approbation before the Orders. It was received with applause by the clergy, but excited the greatest fermentation among the other two. The proceeding, it was said, could be regarded only as an insult to the Assembly; for if it lay with the States-

[1] Garnier.

General to form a Council of Regency, by what right had one been nominated under their eyes, without their having been even consulted? If the nomination were not in them, why was the plan now laid before them? Mainly, as it would appear, to make them share in the responsibility of appointments which would occasion universal dissatisfaction. Loud murmurs were heard at the number of ecclesiastics admitted to the Council of government, and at the very small share of power allotted to Navarre; more especially at his exclusion from any part in the management of the finances.

The zealous Catholics, and those attached to the Duke de Guise, defending the proceeding with equal warmth, the immediate consequence was, a schism in the order of the Nobles. The deputies of twenty bailliages presented a petition, wherein they stated, that they could not proceed to exercise the incontestable right of the States-General to nominate to the Regency, being incompetent, "*parcequ' ils n'avoient receus aucuns pouvoirs à cet égard, de la part de leurs commettans, qui n'avoient pu, ni dû prévoir le cas qui se presentoit.*"[1] They, therefore, demanded that the Provincial Assemblies should be once more convened, in order to give to the deputies now assembled at Orleans the means of consulting them, and of obtaining fresh instructions; and, till that should be done, they objected to everything that should be "*proposé, déliberé, ou arrêté en cette matière.*" The Queen and the Council rejected the petition, and ordered the deputies to proceed to dispatch of business: the dissidents protested, and warned the Orders to refrain from any deliberation upon the Regency, under pain of being "denounced to the nation as violators of its rights, and of being ren-

[1] Having received no powers from their constituents, who neither could nor ought to have foreseen the case which had presented itself.

dered personally responsible for the evils which might thence arise."

A second and third petition were presented to the Council, couched in nearly the same terms, and employing the same arguments. It was urged that the two several occasions upon which it had formerly been deemed expedient to summon the States-General—whether to relieve the oppression under which the subjects of the state might labour—or to relieve the crown in case of disability or minority by the appointing of a Regency—now unexpectedly presented themselves together. "The Assembly was convened, by a King, major, *on the demand of the nation, pour obvier à un soulèvement général* (to prevent a general insurrection), it finds itself called upon to consider a question with which this has nothing in common; to wit, the appointment of a Council of Regency for a king of ten years of age." "*Sans pouvoir à cet égard . . . . il faut, ou qu'ils s'en procurent une nouvelle, ou que s'arrogeant un choix, qui appartient à la nation entière, et dont elle ne leur a point confié l'exercise, ils s'exposent à être désavoués, reprimandés, et deshonorés.*"[1]

It is useless, they add, to shew that the Queen and the Princes of the blood are perfectly agreed upon the choice of those persons who shall compose the government. "*Les députés qui connoissent les bornes de leurs pouvoirs, ne se hasarderont ni d'approuver ni d'improuver aucun de ces choix; pour ne pas donner cette marque de mépris à la nation, qui a droit d'en délibérer . . . . il n'ose se substituer à la nation dans l'exercise d'une fonction dont elle ne les a point chargés; s'exposer à la honte d'un desaveu;*

[1] Without powers in this respect, either they must be re-elected, or they must arrogate to themselves a choice which belongs to the nation at large, which not having been confided to them, they expose themselves to the risk of being disavowed, reprimanded, and dishonoured.

*et fournir un moyen de nullité, contre tout ce qui auroit été fait dans cette Assemblée."*[1] They added, that it was likewise necessary to receive fresh instructions from their constituents on the subject of the finances.

To these remonstrances Catherine made verbally a cautious answer. She said the petitioners were doubtless aware, that in all deliberative assemblies the plurality of voices must decide every question: and as the majority of their order had already decided upon proceeding to despatch of business, she hoped they would lay no further impediments in the way of the discussion of those grievances which so heavily afflicted the state.

Upon this the dissidents came to a resolution not to deliberate with the rest of the Chamber; but to present their *cahier* in the original form in which they had received it from the provincial States. The majority, thus left to act alone, were speedily divided upon the subject of religion; one party advocating the maintenance of the laws then in force against heretics—the other, toleration for all denominations of Christians; that is to say, for all who adhered to the Apostles' Creed, reserving "*les peines afflictives, aux athées, aux anabaptistes, et autres monstres.*"[2]

The result was, that the Nobles ceased to deliberate in common, even upon matters more indifferent; and three several *cahiers* were presented to the King from that one Order alone.

As for the Tiers État, they refused to deliberate upon the question of the Regency, but, unwilling to arrest the

[1] The deputies, who perfectly understand the limits of their powers, cannot take upon themselves to approve or censure these appointments, lest they should shew contempt to the nation, which has alone the right to decide—they dare not substitute themselves for the nation in the exercise of a power not confided to them, and by that means furnish a pretence of nullity against all that has or may be done in this Assembly.

[2] The penal afflictions for atheists, anabaptists, and other monsters.

progress of those reforms for which the occasion was so fair, they agreed to pass the subject *sub silentio*.

Upon the 1st day of Jan. 1561, the King, accompanied as before, came down to the Assembly to listen to the harangue of the Orators.

L'Ange for the Tiers État spoke first. His speech though pedantic contains an animated and affecting picture of the miseries which afflicted his country, united with sentiments upon the subject of liberty, and the rights of mankind in general, which were just as they were generous. He denied that religious differences alone occasioned the distraction and decline of the state, attributable in a still higher degree to the vices of the higher, and the wretchedness of the lower orders of society. He accused the clergy of *une ignorance crasse et générale*,[1] of avarice which drove a trade even in the sacraments—and devoted to purposes, equally profane and scandalous, funds destined to feed the poor, and maintain unimpaired the holy edifices—of unbridled luxury, *qui changeoit en un palais, l'humble toit qu'ils devoient avoir dans le parvis de leur église; et leur modeste domestique en un train et des équipages, qui les faisoient mieux ressembler aux anciens Satrapes de Perse qu'aux successeurs des Apôtres.*"[2]

The magistrates he censured for venality, ignorance, and idleness. The nobility, for a neglect of those duties, the discharge of which formed the condition by which they alone held their great possessions and high privileges—more especially that of military service, which they were bound to perform to the exclusion of the

[1] Of miserable and universal ignorance.

[2] Which changed the humble roofs they ought to occupy into palaces, and their once modest households into equipages and trains of domestics, which made them rather resemble the Satraps of Persia than the successors of the Apostles.

inferior classes. "Whereas, now the people were loaded with taxes to pay foreign mercenaries to supply their place." "*En effet à ne considérer que la conduite et les déportemens de la plus part de cet ordre, on seroit tenté à croire, qu'ils font consister la noblesse à vivre dans l'oisiveté, à prendre les places les plus honorables dans une assemblée, à avoir de plus belles maisons, de plus beaux habits, et une table mieux servie que les autres; et à se croire digne des plus grandes recompenses, s'ils peuvent citer quelque fait glorieux d'un de leurs ancêtres.*"[1] He painted their ruinous pomp, their haughty pretensions, their pride, and their shameful idleness, "*leur faste ruineux, la morgue de leurs pretentions, leur orgueil insultante, et l'oisiveté honteuse dans laquelle ils croupissoient.*"

He concluded with an affecting description of the situation of the people, of their general misery, the depression of the agriculturists—crushed to the earth by the *régime fiscal*,—weighed down by the oppressions of the nobility, and ruined by their hard-heartedness (*dureté*).

The *cahier* he presented, justified but too well the representations of the speaker. It complained of "the injustice, the rapine, the vexations, endured by the peasants from their Lords (Seigneurs). "Not content with forcing them to labour upon their account, under pretence of *droits de charriages, aides, et journées*, levying contributions, establishing their seigneurial mills and ovens, and exacting three times their lawful dues; they wrest from the miserable communes their wood and

[1] In fact, if we only consider the conduct and deportment of this order, one should be tempted to believe that their nobility consisted only in idleness, in occupying the most honourable places in public assemblies, in having finer houses, finer clothes, and more splendid tables than other people; and believing themselves worthy of the highest rewards if they could only quote a noble deed done by one of their ancestors.

pastures, and taking advantage of their forest laws (*droits de chasse*), they ravage the vineyards and harvests of those who have the misfortune to displease them." "*Si quelqu'un refuse de se prêter à ces exactions, ils apostent des gens inconnues pour lui susciter une querelle, où il est outragé, battu, pillé, sans moyen et sans espoir d'en avoir justice.*" [1]

But the evils of such individual oppressions were light in comparison to those arising from the *tailles*. These taxes were everywhere levied with extreme rigour and the most signal injustice, being raised upon the commune instead of upon the individual; and an exemption being easily obtained by any of the rich who had interest to procure the most insignificant place under government—they fell with their whole weight upon the poor. The picture drawn of the misery thus occasioned is frightful. "Wretches, finding themselves, in order to pay the impost, deprived of the little stores they had hoarded up for the winter—have been known to expire with grief, (*ont expiré de douleur*); others, yielding to the most horrible despair, have murdered their wives and their children, and then poignarded themselves. Others dragged to prison, without receiving that assistance which humanity cannot deny even to the greatest criminals, have there died of hunger. Some have fled their country, abandoning their families, being unable to endure the sight of their misery. While those who escape these extremities of distress languish in poverty so excessive, that having neither oxen, horses, nor other means, they are obliged to harness their own bodies to the plough." The assessment by communes added the last dismal feature to this horrible description. "A

[1] And if any one refuses to lend himself to these exactions they set unknown people upon him to pick a quarrel, and he is outraged, beaten, pillaged, without hope or means of justice.

wretch who, with great exertion, has paid his appointed share (*sa cotte part*), and now believes himself at rest, may be assigned and constrained (*contraint par corps*), to acquit that of one of his neighbours, and after a short delay be on that account thrown into prison, "*barbarie si atroce qu'on ne conçoit pas comment elle a pu tomber dans des têtes humaines.*"[1]

The orator for the Nobility, in his harangue, justified the accusation of pride at least, which had been preferred by De l'Ange. He claimed for his order, as for the King, a divine right, an origin from God himself;—"*qui avoit establi une classe privilégée au soutien du trône et à la défense de la société entière.*"[2] He joined, however, with the orator for the Tiers État in his attack upon the clergy and magistrature; and concluded by presenting four *cahiers*, where, mingled with various suggestions equally wise and benevolent for the relief of all classes, we meet with the following requests: "That it might be forbidden, under pain of a fine of five hundred livres, for any man *qui n'étoit noble d'extraction* to denominate himself in any act *noble ou ecuyer;* and that any one ennobled (*ennobli,*) until the fourth generation might be prohibited from wearing cap, shoes, girdle, or scabbard of velvet, or any ornament of gold in the hat—nor his wife be suffered to entitle herself *demoiselle,*[3] or wear robe of velvet, or gold border to her *chaperon.*

The harangue of Quentin for the Clergy, was a mixture of the basest adulation of those in power, and the bit-

[1] A barbarity so atrocious that it is hard to conceive how it could enter into the head of any human being.

[2] Who had established a privileged class to support the throne and defend the whole society.

[3] Madame was a title appropriated, *par excellence,* to the wives of the *haute noblesse* and knights of the order alone.

terest invectives against the Reformed. He called them "*rebelles, machinateurs d'insolites et execrables sacrémens, licencieux, et profuges libertins et licencieux—les mots de la loi de Dieu s'ensuivent. Garde toi bien de jamais faire amitié, d'estre confédéré, ou contracter mariage avec eux; garde toi qu'ils habitent en ta maison, —N'aye aucune compassion d'eux, bats les, frappe les jusques à la mort, &c.*"[1]

When he spoke of those contributions towards relieving the burdens of the country, which, it was expected, would be demanded from the Clergy, he thought proper to express himself thus: "Sire," said he, "we require of you, as something that neither can, nor ought to be refused, that you abstain from accepting anything of the clergy, under any name or title whatsoever; be it either as gift, gratuity, benevolence, or otherwise. *Certainement semble comme est la vérité, que le Prince ne peut (sain et sauve sa conscience) les demander; ni les ecclesiastiques (la leur aussi sauve) les accepter.*[2] The orator appears, however, to have been a very imperfect interpreter of the sentiments of his order; for the *cahier* of the Clergy was drawn up with singular moderation. The harangue went far beyond what the times would bear, and excited such a torrent of mingled indignation and ridicule, that the unhappy speaker died, it is said, of mortification in the course of a few days.

When we consider the unfavourable circumstances under which the deputies to the States-General of Or-

[1] Rebels, machinators of unknown and execrable sacraments and licentious libertines. The words of the law of God apply; take heed lest thou make friendship with, or contract confederacy or marriage with them: take heed that they inhabit not in thine house, have no compassion upon them, beat them, strike them down even to death.

[2] It is an undoubted truth that the Prince cannot (with a safe conscience) demand such; nor the ecclesiastics (with safe conscience) offer them.

leans were chosen; the demands contained in the *cahiers* testify, in a very remarkable manner, to the degree in which a spirit of reformation, political as well as religious, had at that time diffused itself. With respect to religion, we find demanded a general council in a place of security, where all might be at liberty to declare their opinions; and where all controversies might be decided by a reference to "the Word of God, as contained in the text of the Holy Scriptures." That all ecclesiastical benefices should be conferred by election; pluralities abolished; the age when monastic vows might be offered, namely, thirty years for men, and twenty-five for women, settled; a regulation of Saints' days and holidays; and, as a remedy for the abuses arising out of the excessive riches of the clergy, that all ecclesiastical possessions should be divided into three parts—one to be allotted to the maintenance of religious ministry; a second for the support of the poor; a third for the repair of sacred edifices.

With regard to general affairs, regulations are proposed to simplify law proceedings, and restrain the venality of judges—to regulate military service—to restrain duels —to check mendicity by the establishment of almshouses, the funds for which to be supplied partly by the monastic orders, partly by levying a species of poor-rate; "*Ouvrir des ateliers où les mendians seront employés à la réparation ou des places de guerre, ou des grands chemins; former dans toutes les paroisses un bureau de charité, où tout ceux qui jouissent d'une certaine aisance verseraient leur superflu afin de faire subsister les indigents.*"[1]

[1] To open workshops where all beggars may be employed, either in the reparation of the strongholds, or repair of the high-roads; to form *bureaux* of charity in all the parishes, in which all those who enjoy a certain well-being may deposit their superfluity.

They demanded that free schools, supported by the ecclesiastical revenues, should be opened in every part of the kingdom, where reading and writing should be taught, and the children instructed in the truths of the Christian religion. "This last demand was borrowed," says Garnier, "from Geneva, but tended so visibly to the public advantage, that it might, *notwithstanding, have been adopted without danger.*" The Tiers État, upon the subject of education, added this demand: "That it may please the King to erect in every University throughout the kingdom, a chair of morals and politics; and to assign pensions for the professors upon the richest benefices of the province.

Upon the subject of the debt, we find the Tiers État recommending economy and retrenchment of useless offices: "*Le Roi a le droit incontestable à son avénement au trone, de supprimer tel nombre qu'il lui plait des offices de sa maison, et de reduire les gages de ceux qu'il tient bien conservés, sans faire injustice à personne.*"[1] . . . . . They add, that as for the Princes of the blood, *et Seigneurs de haut sang*, who received pensions from the Crown, "*Les Tiers État a une si haute opinion de leur amour pour la patrie qu'ils ne font aucune doute qu'ils ne previennent les désirs du Roi et ne donne l'exemple de désinteressement.*"[2]

A most important demand was added—That an examination into the accounts, state of the finances, and conduct of the officers entrusted with their management,

[1] The King has the unquestioned right, on coming to the throne, to suppress such offices of his household as he may please, and to reduce the wages of those retained, without doing injustice to any one.

[2] The Tiers État has so high an opinion of their love for their country, that they have not the slightest doubt that they will prevent the intentions of the King, and set an example of disinterestedness.

should be immediately entered upon; and that a Committee, consisting of four deputies from each of the great provinces, should be appointed to receive a report of the examination: "*Afin que la nation sache au vrai, la somme d'argent qui a été levé sur elle, et l'usage qui en a été faite.*"[1]

Upon the subject of commerce, the demands are chiefly directed against monopolies and unjust privileges, and to preventing the frauds of the Italian bankers. One demand marks the disordered state of society: the King is entreated to restore to the people the right of carrying fire-arms for their individual defence—especially to the merchants, "who, in the long journeys they are often obliged to take, find themselves without defence, in the midst of a wood, or upon an unfrequented road, frequently leaving there both fortune and life."

The demands of the Tiers État were contained in three hundred and fifty articles, and were closed by one, which, if granted, might have changed the destiny of France for centuries. After enumerating the abuses, the malversations, the crimes without number which afflicted the state, "the result of a crowd of evils which have accumulated till they have corrupted the whole mass of society," they add, "*N'en accusons que notre negligence à recourir à la souveraine remède c'est à dire aux États-Généraux. . . . Nous supplions donc humblement sa Majesté de statuer, et ordonner que désormais, les Etats-Généraux se tiendront tous les cinq ans; sans que la guerre ni aucune autre cause puisse déranger cette ordre, et de vouloir bien assigner dès ce moment le jour et le lieu de la prochaine tenue.*"[2]

[1] In order that the nation may truly be made acquainted with the sum of money levied, and the use which has been made of it.

[2] "We accuse our own negligence in not having had recourse to the sovereign remedy; that is to say, to the States-General. . . . We there-

None of the *cahiers* presented took the slightest notice of the petition of the Protestants. No attempt was made to legislate upon their subject, save that a remission of all punishments whatsoever upon account of religious offences was almost universally recommended.

Neither had any means been proposed, save those of retrenchment, for the liquidation of that debt,—immense for the time,—which pressed so heavily upon the government.

The Chancellor, therefore, re-assembled the deputies, and, representing the urgent necessities of the King, requested that, while the Council were occupied in considering the *cahiers*, the directors of the finances might lay a circumstantial report of the state of the revenue and amount of the debt before the Chamber, in order that deliberation might be had upon those means best calculated to relieve the government, without too much oppressing the people.

The Orders, accordingly, nominated a committee to receive the report. The debt, trifling as it may appear to us, was considered, and was enormous for that period. It amounted to 43,483,000 livres, having accumulated in the short space which had elapsed since Henry the Second had ascended the throne,—he having found 1,700,000 crowns in the treasury. This immense sum had been mostly lavished in wanton extravagance, or bestowed upon the most unworthy favourites. The total annual revenue amounted to 12,250,000 livres; the annual expenditure to 22,600,000. The interest upon the debt was 12 per cent., the common rate of interest at that time.

fore humbly entreat his Majesty to ordain, that henceforward the States-General shall be assembled every five years, and that neither war nor any other cause shall prevent this; and that he will at this moment appoint the day and the place whereon and wherein they shall next be held.

Such an *exposé* of the state of the finances seems to have filled the deputies with equal surprise and dismay. The report, it is said, was at first received in speechless astonishment. They declared themselves incompetent, without an appeal to the nation, to decide upon the measures necessary in such an emergency, and, ranging themselves at once with the dissidents, demanded to be sent back to the electoral assemblies.

The government found itself under the necessity of complying. On the 31st of January the States were closed by the Chancellor. The proposal which concludes his harangue shows how uncertain and confused were his ideas of representation. He said, that since the deputies demanded to be sent back to their constituents for fresh powers, the King consented, "and would convoke them anew,—not by bailliages," "*car dans la detresse où nous sommes il est bon d'épargner les frais qu'entraine ces nombreuses assemblées*"[1]—but by governments; each of the great governments sending one deputy for each Order, to meet at Melun the 1st of May.

Thus terminated this very important Assembly.

It should be mentioned that, during the sitting, the principal ministers of the Reformed churches, encouraged by the changes which had taken place, had assembled at Orleans, and, under the auspices of the King of Navarre, been introduced to the Council of government, where, in the name of all the churches dispersed throughout the kingdom, they presented to the King a petition, remonstrating against the measures which had been taken to exclude the Protestants from the provincial states—and thus depriving them of their due share of influence in

[1] For in the present distress it was desirable to avoid the expense of so numerous an assembly.

the General Assembly. They also once more demanded *temples*, and the liberty of exercising, undisturbed, their religious ceremonies. This petition was received, but the consideration thereof postponed till a more convenient opportunity.

## CHAPTER II.

CATHERINE REGENT.—THE TRIUMVIRATE.—THE DUKE OF GUISE IN PARIS.

THE year 1561 is marked by the dawn, too soon obscured, of just views, enlarged principles, and a righteous administration of affairs. The progress made by De l'Hôpital and Coligny in establishing a wise and merciful system of government, and in pacifying religious differences, proves how much may be effected by virtuous exertion, in the course even of one short twelve-months. Common views and principles had united these great men in ties, which subsequent events might weaken, but could never entirely dissolve; and they now heartily co-operated in the great design of restoring health, tranquillity, and vigour to a distracted and sinking state.

The two leading objects which occupied their attention were, to establish toleration by relieving the Protestants from their civil disabilities, and from the pains and penalties which oppressed them; and, by a severe and equal administration of justice, to restrain those disorders among the lower classes, which kept the country in perpetual confusion. A third object—great as it is in ours, yet far less important in their eyes—was to ensure a permanent representation to France.

The steps taken by the Chancellor, in pursuance of his grand design of establishing toleration, are gradual and timid, and mark the difficulties which lay in his way. On the 7th of January we find a secret order directed to

the Parliament of Paris, commanding the release of all prisoners in confinement on account of their religion. This order is accompanied with a recommendation to keep it a secret *for fear of exciting scandal.* Towards the end of the month an edict is openly issued to the same effect as the private order. This is to be remarked as the first public act of legislation favourable to the Protestants.

This is followed in April by one still more favourable. In this it was forbidden, under pain of death, to employ the injurious appellations of Papist or Hugonot; or to violate the security of private houses under pretence of preventing religious assemblies. Persons imprisoned on account of religion were to be set at liberty; goods, houses, and lands to be restored; lastly, those banished on account of religion, to be allowed to return and resume their estates; "*pourvu qu'il vecussent à l'exterieur comme Catholiques.*"[1]

These measures were not effected without difficulty; the Parliament of Paris met every proposal for qualifying the laws upon religion, with the most determined opposition; and it was vain to expect that the Edict of April would be registered. The Chancellor, therefore, somewhat irregularly, addressed the ordonnance at once to the inferior provincial courts, by which expedient he procured the immediate relief of the Protestants, though not, as he fondly expected, the tranquillity of the country.

Encouraged by this protection, the Reformed began to excite attention by their numerous and frequent assemblies. "They discovered themselves frankly about religion," says Castlenau;[2] "they assembled in houses, where they baptised, celebrated the Lord's Supper, and

[1] Provided they lived externally as Catholics.

[2] Castlenau, Memoirs.

marriages, and offered prayers, according to the manner of Geneva—very different from those of Augsburg, which many thought it would be better to admit into France, if there was a necessity for either, rather than to allow the entrance of the sect of Calvin—who had, said they, more ignorance and passion than religion. Soon after the assemblies became so large, that private houses could not contain them." He adds, "The ministers were, for the most part, ignorant, and *grossiers*, with little knowledge or doctrine, beyond that of the prayers and catechisms printed at Geneva. *The most learned and clever had been banished or executed.*"

What a lesson against persecution![1]

[1] The rapid increase of the churches under this relaxation of the penal enactments in force against those of the religion, and the unwonted spectacle of assemblies meeting in private houses and barns, or sometimes even in the market-places, to unite in prayer and celebrate the ceremonies of their religion undisturbed, seems to have excited the jealousy of the priests and monks almost to desperation, and to have driven the lower orders, incited by their example, to the wildest and most furious excesses. Houses in which the religious assemblies were held were attacked and levelled to the ground, the congregations driven about, insulted, pillaged, beaten, imprisoned, murder under the most revolting circumstances of cruelty ensuing.

To do justice to the cause of the Reformed would require wider limits than I have allowed myself here; but those who will take the trouble to examine the minute and detailed chronicle of these events preserved in Beza (Histoire des Eglises) will admit the truth of what I affirm, that the moderation of the Religious was astonishing; that out of hundreds and hundreds of instances only one or two can be found in which they were the least to blame—or were guilty even of imprudence—except so far as their perseverance in the celebration of their religious ceremonies is to be considered such. In every instance, with these few exceptions, they were the passive victims of the most outrageous violence to which the populace, incited by their priests and their monks and too often countenanced by the civil authorities, gave way. We read of priests armed with their arquebuses, leading on the populace and firing upon the Religious, who, in obedience to the edicts, invariably attended their assemblies unarmed —of men literally torn into pieces, —bodies disinterred and dragged about the streets with impunity— of houses set on fire filled with women and children—of the patients in the hospitals being tormented by their fellow-patients— "d'autant que ceux de l'église Romaine tourmentaient cruellement les pauvres malades de l'Hôtel Dieu qui etaient de l'église Réformée, etant irrités et animés par leurs prêcheurs à ce faire," writes Beza.

The Catholics themselves were often massacred under a mistake, exclaiming in vain that they went to mass, and were good Catholics. We read of a poor priest at Beauvais murdered in a popular disturbance,

The Protestants on their side were, in some few instances, guilty of imprudence, by openly insulting the Catholic processions, and still more by giving way, in spite of all their ministers could do to prevent it,[1] to their rage for image-breaking, which they exercised to the scandal and horror of all good Catholics, who looked upon this destruction of sacred representations, as the most blasphemous impiety, and as a crime far more enormous, than the utmost cruelty exercised upon their fellow-creatures. Even their grave historians never hesitate to balance the iconoclasm of the Protestants, against the murders committed by the Catholics.[2]

The difficulties arising from obstinate prejudice and ignorant brutality, time and resolution would doubtless have overcome; but those proceeding from the intrigues of a profligate Court, where all were intent upon personal aggrandisement, and ready to sacrifice to that consideration every principle of public integrity or private virtue, proved insurmountable. And Coligny and De l'Hôpital were doomed to behold the fair edifice of justice, they were with such pains erecting, finally ruined by this unworthy cause.

Such being the lamentable effect of Court intrigues, it is necessary that their progress should be developed with an attention, otherwise ill-bestowed upon such a subject. The Queen-Mother, guided by no fixed principles, or

where the Cardinal de Chatillon narrowly escaped with life. This happened at Easter, when instead of celebrating mass at the head of his clergy arrayed in his pontifical robes, which he had long laid aside, he was engaged within his palace administering the Lord's supper—*la cêne*—assisted by Calvinist ministers. The mob was excited almost to madness by this.

[1] See Beza.

[2] One only murder is recorded upon the part of the Hugonots in this year, that of the Sieur Fumel, and this says Beza,—"Advint non point pour sa religion mais pour ses tyrannies: ceux de la Religion ne faisait la guerre qu'aux images et autels qui ne saignaient point, au lieu que ceux de la religion Romaine répandaient le sang, avec toute espèce de cruauté plus que barbare."

rather impelled but by one motive, a hungry and insatiable desire of rule, being of "the Italian religion," to borrow a phrase of the times—that is of no religion at all—one to whom the terms, duty, obligation, responsibility, public spirit, were unmeaning sounds, was ill calculated to reform or amend a Court, or set an example to an aristocracy. On the contrary, her love of intrigue encouraged to intrigue; her duplicity excited to treachery; and her temporising policy to open defiance. No confidence could be placed in her professions, nor in the permanency of resolutions, resting on views of self-interest alone. If she protected the Protestants and favoured the views of the Chancellor to-day, it was done but through fear of the Guises, or through jealousy of Navarre; thinking to deprive him, by this means, of the exclusive support of that formidable body. When, on the other hand, she upheld the Guises, and appeared to support the Catholic ascendancy, her own security, against the pretensions of Navarre to her virtual regency, was the sole motive. Lavish in her professions and promises to both sides, she must, however, be considered, during the course of this year, as mainly influenced by the advice of Coligny. He had found means to govern the master-spring of her mind, by representing the immense advantages she might reap by encouraging the professors of the Reformed religion, which, under her fostering care, would, undoubtedly, in a short time, become predominant. He spoke of the vast treasures of the Catholic clergy which such an event would throw into her disposal: treasures which, after supplying the modest necessities of the Reformed ministers, would afford ample means for liquidating the debt, and liberating her from her financial difficulties. It was only necessary to advert to England to prove that such expectations were no idle dream; and

it appears certain that at this time she was resolved to follow that example.

But she became the victim of her own weak and temporising policy; and her falsehood and dissimulation laid the foundation of that power which, after driving France into a civil war, lay for forty years like an incubus upon the energies of the kingdom. This power was that of the high Catholic party, headed by the house of Guise and supported by Spain. It began under the Triumvirate in 1562; it expired with the League at the end of the century under the victorious arms of Henry the Fourth.

For the present, however, the influence of the Duke de Guise appeared rapidly on the decline. The manifestation of public opinion in favour of Navarre, during the meeting of the States-General, had diminished his importance and cooled his friends. Navarre, insolent in prosperity, pursued his advantage, and, in concert with Coligny and Montmorenci, urged the Queen to withdraw every mark of favour from the ambitious strangers; and he succeeded in wresting from Guise those keys of the Grand Master, of which he had so unjustly deprived another. But this success was followed by a second—a fatal victory—the consequences of which proved most important and unfortunate.

Still further to depress the faction of the Lorraines, the provincial states of the Isle of France, now assembled in Paris to instruct their deputies for the assembly of Melun, were instigated to demand the restitution of those immense sums lavished by Henry II upon his favourites, in order that they might be employed to liquidate a debt of which they were the principal occasion. The individuals, thus singled out to refund their ill-gotten wealth, were the Duke de Guise, the Maréchal de St. André, the Duchess de Valentinois; and what will appear extraordinary, when

the source from whence this humiliating demand took rise is considered, the Constable himself. It is said the design was to ensure the more close adherence of the Constable to the party which he at present espoused, by making him feel his own weakness and dependence. But if such were the aim in view, most miserable was its failure, and its consequences disastrous to a degree altogether unforeseen.

The Guises and Montmorenci, those ancient and implacable enemies, now found themselves suddenly engaged in a common interest, and began in consequence to enter into negotiations for mutual assistance. The Maréchal de St. André, aided by Madelaine, the second wife of the Constable—whose jealousy had been excited by the influence which his illustrious nephews possessed over his mind, to the exclusion of that of her own brother—undertook the difficult task of reconciling the long animosities of Montmorenci and the Duke de Guise, being, it is said, secretly aided in his undertaking by the Queen-Mother, now become jealous of the union which existed between the Constable and Navarre.

The fears, the ill-temper, the envy, the religious prejudices of the severe and narrow-minded old man were worked upon ; and in spite of the efforts of Coligny and of the Maréchal de Montmorenci—who vainly represented how great was the degradation of exchanging the place of umpire between the contending factions for that of partisan, the Maréchal de St. André succeeded in effecting not only a reconciliation, but in forming a species of league offensive and defensive, between these once bitter enemies ; a league which, to the unparalleled misfortune of France, subsisted during the remainder of their mutual lives.

This fatal reconciliation was effected at Easter. The Duke and Constable together attended mass, and kneeling

at the same altar, partook of the sacrament. The day was concluded by a magnificent entertainment, given by Montmorenci to the Duke de Guise, the Marquis de Joinville his son, yet a child, and to St. André. This monstrous coalition is well-known in French history, under the name of the Triumvirate. A name bestowed upon it by the Protestants; marking at once its despotism and its cruelty. At present, however, it appeared anything but formidable, the confederates possessed little apparent influence; the reconciliation was in general a secret; and the parties for the present separating the Duke de Guise retired to his estate at Nanteuil; and the Constable to Chantilli. It appears that some lingering scruples of honour still hung about Montmorenci, and made him deem it requisite before he openly united with the Duke de Guise, that a reconciliation, at least apparent, should take place between him and Condé. The sentence against the prince had already been reversed with a facility equal to that with which it had been obtained. The Chancellor, on the requisition of the Prince, declared that he knew of no information against him. The privy council pronounced him cleared, and admitted him to his usual place among them. The Parliament of Paris revised the sentence passed against him by their President, and at the demand of his advocate Robertet, "*il fut ainsi ordonné—Toutes les pièces furent revisés, les plus fortes furent trouvés fausses; et quelques uns de témoins ayant desavoués leurs dépositions, le procés, vu, et les temoins recollés il fut declaré innocent par l'arrêt du jour* 13*me Juin*, 1561."[1] Thus was the prince, without further

[1] This was decreed, all the pieces were reconsidered—the most important were declared to be false; and some of the witnesses having disavowed their depositions, he was declared innocent by the arrêt of the 13th of June.

T. Wageman del.t F. Radclyffe sc.

LOUIS DE BOURBON.

*1st Prince of Condé.*

ENGRAVED BY PERMISSION OF HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF SUTHERLAND

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN HIS POSSESSION.

London Richard Bentley 1847.

ceremony, absolved by the very men who had sentenced him under an illegal commission.

But the animosity of Condé against the Duke de Guise was in no degree abated, he still burned with impatience to revenge his disgrace. However, at the solicitation of the Constable and Queen-Mother, he for the present condescended to submit to the ceremony of a reconciliation in form.

As the summer advanced, the Court—now at Fontainbleau, presented an unusual spectacle. Where, not many years before, the execution of a Lutheran had been a favourite exhibition, Calvinism had become a fashion and a rage. The princes and nobles who had adopted the Reform, and who lately esteemed it a favour to be allowed to carry about with them a minister mingled with their other servants, to preach as it were clandestinely, now brought them publicly forward; and it became a mode for all the rank and beauty of the Court, to attend upon their services. The Queen, not daring to assist at these assemblies in person, yet encouraged them as far as possible; and allowed the Bishop de Valence to preach before her with his hat upon his head, "according to the manner of Geneva." The Catholic observances began to fall into contempt, the butchers' shops were allowed to be kept open during Lent, and at most tables it became a custom to serve meat upon days of abstinence. Even the royal children were encouraged to make a jest of the dresses and ceremonies of the ancient religion.

Marguerite de Valois,[1] in her memoirs, takes great credit to herself for her conduct upon this occasion, being then between seven and eight years old; "I made great efforts to preserve my religion at this time, when the whole Court was infected with heresy; resisting the *impressive per-*

[1] Mém. de Marguerite de Valois.

*suasions,* (persuasions impressives) of many ladies and seigneurs of the court, and even of my brother D'Anjou since King of France; whose infancy had not escaped altogether from the influence *de la malheureuse hugonoterie.* He was always calling upon me to change my religion; often throwing my *heures* into the fire; and constraining me to take the Hugonot psalms and prayer books in their stead, the which I carried to my governess, whom it had pleased God to preserve to me—she was a Catholic. She often took me to that good man the Cardinal de Tournon, who would exhort me to suffer all things for my religion; and would give me new *heures,* and chaplets, in the place of those which my brother D'Anjou had burned. Some would blame and abuse me, saying it was childish folly, and that it was plain I had no understanding; *que tout ceux qui avoit de l'ésprit, oyants prescher le Christ c'étoit retirés de l'abus de cette bigoterie. Mais que j'étois aussi sotte que ma gouvernante. Et mon frère D'Anjou y adjoutoit les menaces, disant que la Reine ma mère me feroit fouetter.*[1]

These proceedings irritated the Constable almost to madness. All his pride as descendant of the *first Christian Baron*; all the prejudices of a man of narrow and severe temper—accustomed during his whole career to insult and trample upon the sect now rising into reputation—were aroused. He suffered himself to be transported to acts of the most childish intemperance and rage. Being persuaded to attend when the Bishop of Valence was preaching to the Queen and a large assembly of ladies and gentlemen, he burst into an ungovernable fury, and broke out into loud and vehement reproaches, not a little

[1] For all those who had any sense having once heard Christ preached, had abandoned the abuses of this bigotry, but that I was as great a fool as my gouvernante. And my brother of Anjou would add menaces, saying that the Queen-Mother would have me well whipped.

to the discomfiture of the minister. Another time crossing the hall of the palace, and finding a large assembly listening to the like discourses, he, in a tempest of passion, called upon his people to fling that preacher out of the window—a fate the Bishop narrowly escaped. *Qu'on me chasse ces marauds, qu'on me pende ce damné ministre!*—was the cry with which he broke up the meetings wherever he found them assembled: defacing the places of worship: tearing up the benches and flinging the fragments out of the windows. The Calvinists revenged themselves by laughing at his violence, and giving him the soubriquet of *le Capitaine brusle-banc*—(Captain burn-the-bench.)

Such examples on the part of their superiors, served to confirm in the lower classes the disposition to riot, tumult, and disobedience. We find on the one hand the Protestants, in some places, refusing to pay tithe, and occupying the churches left vacant by the conversion of the congregations, while every day fresh instances occurred of the exasperation and animosity of the Catholics.

The *sacre* of the King took place at Rheims, upon May the 15th, and the chiefs of all parties being on that occasion assembled, the opportunity was seized upon once more to deliberate in a sort of general Council of government, as to the best means of restoring tranquillity.[1] The Cardinal de Lorraine loudly declaimed "against the sin to God and man of allowing liberty of conscience to these opinions—condemned by all the councils, and by the universal church. Every place," he said, "was filled with discord and confusion, owing to the audacity of a contumacious sect, who dared to arrogate to themselves the right of believing and teaching according to their own fancies: and thus a kingdom, the first-born child of the church,

[1] Davila, Guerre Civile di Francia.

was in danger of being separated from the Apostolical faith in Christ, at the caprice of a few seditious spirits."

Petitions from the Protestants loaded the table, praying for a Council; complaining of persecution, and asking for temples. These petitions were now far too powerfully seconded to be treated with contemptuous neglect: even the Cardinal de Lorraine agreed in sentiment with the Queen-Mother, and bending before the force of opinion, acceded in some measure to these demands.

It was decided to grant the request for a national Council by immediately calling together an assembly of the clergy, at which the Protestant divines should be at full liberty to appear; and where, before the King and Queen in person, they might explain and defend their doctrine. A general Council, with authority to reconcile opinions, it was now on all sides considered vain to expect. It is true, the Pope had answered the representations of all Christendom, by once more opening that of Trent; but it was plain little satisfaction could be the result of an assembly, at which the Protestant divines, upon the slender security of a Catholic safe-conduct—would hardly think it safe to appear; and where, even if they should present themselves, it was doubtful whether the King of France possessed influence sufficient to obtain for them that patient and equitable hearing, without which it was folly to expect they would submit to the decisions of the Council. Not to offend the Pope however, unnecessarily—jealous to the extreme of all, but more especially of national councils—it was resolved by advice of the Cardinal, who observed, "*que le mot choque plus que la chose*" to avoid the name of Council by substituting that of Colloquy. And under the name of the *Colloque of Poissy*, the assembly which resulted from these determinations is generally known.

The deputies for the States being upon the eve of reassembling, it was thought best to separate the clergy from the other orders, and call them together at Poissy, under the pretext of deliberating upon ecclesiastical abuses. To this assembly, it was thought the King might, without occasioning much scandal, introduce some of the principal Calvinist divines; and allow them to confer in his presence with the Catholic theologians. Should the Catholics obtain the victory in argument, as the Cardinal—sanguine as to the effects of his own eloquence—calculated, and their opponents be driven to recantation, the affair might be considered as settled. And even should the Protestants continue obstinate, they would be at least deprived of their usual boast, namely, that of all the richly endowed bishops and divines of the Catholic church, not one could be found hardy enough to encounter them in dispute. By arguments such as these, desirous himself, it is said, to display before such an assembly, that learning and eloquence of which he was justly proud, he reconciled the Catholics to this very great concession.

With respect to the civil disabilities and penal enactments upon religious matters, it was resolved to debate the subject once more, in a solemn assembly composed of the Parliament of Paris, and the Council of government united; where it was hoped some conclusion might be arrived at, which would serve for the present to maintain peace between the parties—while enactments thus solemnly authenticated, it was expected, would meet with more respect than had attended the edicts and ordonnances lately promulgated.

This solemn meeting took place in June; shortly before which time, the Duke de Guise had returned to Paris. The following passage of Brantôme gives a hint of the vacillating policy pursued by the Queen; and affords a

striking description of the species of influence which the magnificent Princes of the house of Guise already began to exercise over the lower orders in the capital:[1] "After the *sacre* of King Charles, M. de Guise took leave of the King and Queen, who begged him much to stay, and went to Guise, intending to pass his time among his friends. (I was there with him.) He had not been there fifteen days, when the Queen sent to him, praying him to return, for that he was very much wanted. He excused himself on his private affairs, and his resolution of being less at Court than formerly; saying, he should always be ready to expose his life for the King's service. . . . . Upon this, the Fête Dieu approached, and an alarm was given to the King and Queen that the Hugonots intended to trouble the feast; on which their Majesties went to Paris . . . . and immediately advertised M. de Guise, praying him to come with all speed,[2] for they had need of him more than of any man in France. I saw three couriers arrive in one day, *coup sur coup* . . . . and this is what I then heard him say, '*Si c'étoit pour autre sujet je ne partirois pas; mais puisqu' il y va de l'honneur de Dieu, je m'y en vais et qui y voudra entreprendre j'y mourrais ne pouvant mieux mourir.*'[3] In short, we set out, and travelled with so much speed—he on his horses and we on ours—that in two days we arrived at Paris being precisely on the vigil of the feast, but too late that evening to attend the King; so we remained to sleep at the Hôtel de Guise . . . Those who were with him may remember it as well as I, *et plait à Dieu fusse je ainsi sain et gaillard qu' alors.*"

"The next day, early in the morning, the news spread

[1] Brantôme, Hommes Illustres, Vie Guise.

[2] It is probable they feared disturbances on account of the processions of that day, which were particularly obnoxious to the Reformed.

[3] If it were on any other account, I would not go; but since the honour of God is concerned, I will be there, and if necessary, there am ready to die; for where can I better die?

through the city that M. de Guise was arrived. I need not say how the populace, who had been a little disheartened, rejoiced and gathered courage. The most part of the nobility about the Court—save a few who followed the King of Navarre, and the Hugonot guard of the Prince de Condé—came to his levée, and in such numbers, that it was quite a fine sight, and showed that he was still loved and honoured in France. He, having saluted and thanked them most courteously, "*car il étoit très courtois, et très propre pour gagner le cœur de tout le monde, outre ses talens et vertus,*"[1] mounted his horse to go to the King. There I saw him, with his own fair and assured manner, (*belle et asseurée façon,*) quite different from any other prince then in France. He was mounted upon a black jennet, called *le Morêt,* a fit horse for such an occasion; for he was most superb, with great housings of black velvet, embroidered in silver; M. de Guise himself clothed in a *pourpoint et chausses* of crimson satin, (he always loved crimson—I could name the lady who gave him that colour,) a scarf and cloak of black velvet, bound with the same, and his cap of black velvet, with a large well-placed plume of scarlet feathers, (he always loved feathers.)—*Sur tout une belle et bonne épée au coté,* for that morning he commanded three to be brought to him, of which he chose the best; for as I heard him say, for the honour and service of God, well would he fight that day. In short, fair was he to behold, and well was he appointed—this great man and great Prince, towering among some five or six hundred gentlemen, most like a grand and noble oak, the monarch of the grove, rising amid surrounding trees."

"Passing through the town, the people flocked around

[1] For he was very courteous and formed to gain the hearts of all the world, to say nothing of his talents and virtues.

him with so great a press, that it was a full hour before he arrived at the King's lodgings; the passages being choked with the crowds who applauded his coming with loud clamour and extreme noise, testifying their confidence and assurance in him. . . . . He carried it before the King of Navarre that day, for he had a suite of double his number of gentlemen volunteers, besides disbanded captains, who acknowledged him always at Court as well as during the last wars, for their general.

"To conclude, the processions, as well of the Court as of the town of Paris, were terminated very devoutly, without disorder or tumult; and every one said, had it not been for M. de Guise, we should have seen both violence and bloodshed; but he had prepared himself well, and spoken to the principal men of the town . . . '*si que si l'on eût branslé le moins du monde . . . on auroit très bien joué de mains, et les Hugonots s'en fussent trouvés très mauvais marchands.*'"[1]

[1] So that if there had been the slightest commotion, there would have been pretty work, and the Hugonots would have found themselves badly off.

## CHAPTER III.

MEETING WITH PARLIAMENT.—PROCEEDINGS OF NAVARRE.—TRIUMVIRATE.—STATES OF PONTOISE—OF ST. GERMAIN.

THE presence and influence of the Duke de Guise may be detected in the resolutions of the grand Council formed of the Parliament of Paris and the Government united.

It was upon the 18th of June, that the Chancellor announced to the Parliament that the King would depute the Princes of the blood, and the members of his Privy Council, to enter into deliberation with the above-named high Court as to the means to be adopted for pacifying the disorders on account of religion.[1] On the 23rd the sittings began; present, the King of Navarre, the Card. de Bourbon, the Princes of the blood, the Constable, the Admiral, the Dukes and Maréchals of France, and the Archbishop of Paris.

The sittings were stormy, the results unfavourable. The cause of toleration found little support in the halls of justice. Those courageous spirits who once bravely stood forward in defence of freedom had disappeared, and the few who secretly detested the blind intolerance of the Parliament were held silent by suspicion and fear.

"I feel," says one,[2] writing to a brother lawyer, "that there are many here who fear such a turn of fortune as occurred in Henry the Second's time; and I apprehend that a dread of falling into the like inconveniences will restrain many from speaking according to their conscience; *chat echaudé craint l'eau chaud.*"

[1] Add. to Le Laboureur. [2] Lettres of Jacques de Boudin.

After a debate which lasted twenty days, upon the 11th of July the edict, known as the 'Edict of July,' was issued.

The preamble,[1] after declaring the anxiety of the government to maintain the community in peace and quietness, strictly prohibits, under pain of the gallows, all people, *de se provoquer par injures et outrages, et n'émouvoir ni être cause d'aucun trouble ou sedition, ni agresser l'un l'autre de fait ou de parole, ni faire force ni violence les uns aux autres, dans les maisons ni ailleurs, sous quelque pretexte ou couleur que ce soit, de religion ou autre.*

All societies constituted for religious or other purposes, were forbidden, or preachers to use in their sermons scandalous invectives tending to excite sedition,

All public meetings or conventicles, with or without arms—all private ones for the administration of any sacraments but such as are observed by the Catholic church, forbidden on pain of *confiscations de corps et biens.* The judgment in cases of heresy, as by the edict of Romorantin, left in the hands of the Church, the pains to be inflicted being, however, limited to banishment. A general *abolition* of the punishments to this date incurred for causes of religion. All, with the exception of gentlemen and the servants of princes and great lords, forbidden to carry arms.

Such were the provisions of an edict, the whole of which in its original form may be found in Beza, and which that author qualifies as—*un édit qui depuis a causé de grands maux—l'édit de Juillet.*

This edict must be considered as a somewhat retrograde step on the part of the government; and, authorised as it was by the solemn deliberations and proceedings of so

[1] Garnier; from the Procès Verbal.

august an assembly, it greatly disappointed the Protestants. On the other hand, the Parliament considered it too favourable, and refused after all to register it, except provisionally; the government at the same time secretly consoling the Protestants with the assurance, that its provisions should be still less observed than those of any which had preceded it.

It appears somewhat strange that this above-mentioned extraordinary Council should have been had recourse to when the deputies for the States-General were upon the eve of re-assembling, and it marks the total want of all fixed constitutional principles in France, of which the following proceeding affords a yet more striking example.

On the 1st of August the deputies for the two lay-Orders met at Pontoise, that of the Clergy having already assembled at Poissy.

The States of Pontoise consisted only of twenty-six deputies, namely, thirteen from the Noble, ten from the Tiers État; whose first care was to secure the fruit of their former efforts. The demands contained in the *cahiers* presented at Orleans had, it appears, during the recess, been discussed in the Council, and for the most part granted. After being accepted by the King, it had upon former occasions been customary simply to publish the demands in their original form, as declaring the will of the nation, now confirmed by the royal authority, this proceeding having been always regarded as sufficient to pass them into laws; but De l'Hôpital upon this occasion —owing probably to the irregular manner in which the *cahiers* had been prepared—thought proper to adopt a very singular mode of proceeding. Having reduced the contents of the various *cahiers* into a series of enactments—well known in French legal history as the *Ordonnances d'Orléans*—he resorted to the unprecedented

step of subjecting these ordonnances of the highest legislative to the control of the administrative body, and presented them to the Parliament for registry. '*La marche que prenoit le Chancelier étoit inconnue dans notre histoire. Jusques alors les demandes de la nation, approuvées et consenties par le Roi, avoient paru porter un caractère assez auguste pour n'avoir pas besoin d'être soumises aux formalités d'un enregistrement.*'"[1]

So little does the importance of this subject seem to have been understood, that we find the Parliament so far from acknowledging with satisfaction the new and extraordinary power offered to them, that they for some time decline all interference; while the assembly at Pontoise, instead of vindicating their authority, only refuse to enter upon business till the registry is effected. The Parliament at length appear to perceive their advantages, and even insist upon a further power of limiting and modifying the *ordonnances* laid before them. But this was far from being the intention of De l'Hôpital. After a long dispute he carried his point, and the *ordonnances* were at length registered without modification.

The first subject discussed in the States when they proceeded to business was the regency. The deputies still asserted their right to nominate the Regent; the Queen-Mother, in answer to their demands, contented herself with sending down for their consideration the last arrangement entered into with Navarre, and agreed to by all the Princes of the blood. It differed little from the one preceding it, except in somewhat enlarging the powers granted to Navarre, and after a short debate the de-

[1] The step taken by the Chancellor was unprecedented in our history. Till then, the demands of the nation, approved and consented to by the King, had borne so august a character as to render it unnecessary to submit them to the form of being registered. Garnier.

puties consented to ratify the agreement with a salvo for the rights of the States.[1]

This negotiation was conducted by Coligny and D'Andelot; and this, when we consider how earnestly Coligny had advocated the rights of Navarre in the States of Orleans, affords a remarkable proof of the dependence placed by the Admiral upon Catherine's sincerity, and upon her adherence to the cause of religious liberty, ever his main object. It is said, indeed, that the States, in return for their condescension, required and received a promise on the part of the Queen that she would establish toleration.

The *cahiers* of the assembly are remarkable for the excessive animosity they display against the clergy, and for the partiality shown to the Reform. They represent the inefficiency of penal enactments to restrain the spirit of religious reformation; and affirm, "that perseverance in such measures for one year longer will light a flame which

[1] A demand made by the States upon this subject is worth noting: "that in future, in case of minority or incapacity of the crown, the Princes of the blood, each in his degree of affinity, should be held responsible to assemble the States-General within three months of such incapacity arising; under pain, failing this obligation, to be reputed traitors to the King and to the *nation;* and that should three months expire without such convocation, the provincial assemblies should be empowered to proceed to election: and that the States-General so chosen, should assemble on the fifteenth day of the fourth month, to censure or approve what, in the interim, might have been done, and to appoint a council of regency. They demanded further that the States should be convened, either by the reigning King, or by the depositories of his authority, whenever an appanage was about to be granted to a son of France. They also denied to the Queen-Mother, or council of regency, the right to engage the nation in any new war without the approbation of the States. These demands came from the Nobility. The Tiers Etat contented themselves simply with requiring,—"*que soit pendant la minorité du Roi, soit après qu'il seroit parvenu à l'age, de gouverner par lui même, les Etats Generaux continuassent à être convoqués tous les deux ans; et que ce fut là desormais un règle fixe et inviolable.*" Who can read this without regret; who but must lament the fatal circumstances which rendered such suggestions vain: obscuring the hope for a moment held out to France of a representative government and religious liberty. And who can observe without admiration the great and wise Coligny, doubtless the prime mover in these proceedings! The quotation is from Garnier.

no power under heaven can extinguish." They demand that every preceding edict upon the subject shall be annulled—more especially that of July, as contrary to the requisition of the majority of the States assembled at Orleans—that churches should be allowed to the Reformed—and finally they petition the King to summon the principal Protestant divines to Poissy, to enter into a formal conference with the bishops; and that the acts of such conference should be carefully collected to prevent evasion. If the bishops rejected this conference the two Orders protested, they would hold them responsible, and seek satisfaction at their hands in time and place for all the evils their obstinacy would entail upon the country.

When the subject of the debt was entered upon, the hostility entertained against the Clergy was still more signally displayed; the two orders showing a very determined resolution to imitate the example of some other countries, and strip that body of a considerable portion of the wealth which ensured to them so formidable a preponderance in society. The deputies for the Nobility having declared, as had been done at the States of Orleans, that neither their own order, nor that of the Tiers État, were in a condition to bear any additional share of the public burdens, proposed to appoint a committee to decide upon the real amount of the debt which would remain, after resuming all sums that under the form of peculation or unseasonable donations had been abstracted from the treasury. The deficit they proposed to divide into three parts, two of which to be liquidated by the property of the Church, deducting for this purpose a due proportion from the endowments of every benefice exceeding four hundred livres; the third by a general tax upon the community. Such were the proposals of the Nobility. But the Tiers État laid the axe to the root of the tree, and,

instead of requiring a contribution, demanded at once that the whole possessions of the Church should be resumed. They laid down in their *cahier* as a principle that "as the possessions of the Church have no other origin than the liberality of Kings and ancient barons, those who enjoy them are properly but administrators; and it lies always in the King and the order of Nobility, who have founders' rights *(droits de fondateurs)* to determine their application and uses. They therefore demanded, *qu'en laissant pour toute propriété fonciére aux ecclesiastiques une maison dans le parvis de l'église,*[1] that the entire remainder of the temporal revenues of the Church should be sold at public auction. These were valued at 4,000,000 rent, and were expected to produce a capital of 120,000,000. From this sum it was proposed to take 48,000,000, which placed at interest at twelve per cent, would produce for the clergy a revenue of 4,000,000, without loss or deduction, 72,000,000 remaining at the disposal of the King; of this, after deducting 42,000,000 for the liquidation of the debt, there would remain 30,000,000, which, placed at interest, would afford a revenue of 2,000,000, which would be more than sufficient for the pay of the whole army and repair of the fortresses." Various and great advantages to commerce, agriculture, and society in general, were enumerated as the effects of this scheme, the difficulties of carrying it into execution being, as usual, overlooked. In the nature of things, it could not have produced all the benefits that were anticipated, but the object of the proposal was, in fact, chiefly to depress the power and consideration of the Clergy;[2] the dread of such power being the sole remaining sentiment which prevented Catherine from

[1] Garnier, from Procès Verbal des Etats.

[2] See Garnier, p. 325, vol. xxix.

heartily co-operating with Navarre and Coligny in effecting a change in the national religion. It is evident this measure must have answered the intended purpose, and must have ruined for ever the temporal power of the Church of France; for though the nominal revenue it is true would have remained at present the same, its permanence would have been rendered extremely precarious and dependent; to say nothing of the facility with which the Reformed ministers might have been gradually substituted for the Catholic clergy, without any invasion of the rights of property.

The King appointed the great hall of St. Germains for receiving the *cahier*, the prelates assembled at Poissy being invited to attend. The contempt into which their body was rapidly falling, was here again displayed. It had been usual for the Cardinals upon all occasions of ceremony, to take precedence as heads of the first order of the state, even of the Princes of the blood. But now the Princes of the blood resisted this privilege, as derogatory to their high pretensions, and the Cardinals were obliged to yield. The Cardinal de Bourbon took his place as Prince of the blood; the Cardinals de Chatillon, and d'Armagnac, walked after the Princes; those of De Tournon, Lorraine, and Guise quitted the assembly.

The orator for the Tiers État affected to imitate, in his mode of speaking, the peculiar manner then in vogue among the Calvinist ministers, and inveighed violently against the Clergy. They at last bent to the storm, and, to conciliate public opinion, consented to undertake alone the discharge of 15,000,000 of the debt; stipulating, only, that they should be allowed to levy it in their own manner: the Admiral and D'Andelot, we are told, persuading the two remaining Orders to consent by a general impost on fermented liquors (*les boissons*) to defray the

remainder. One fact connected with this arrangement must not be forgotten. The Queen-Mother, who had entered into a solemn engagement with the two lay-Orders to permit the exercise of the Reformed religion throughout the kingdom, and as a gage of her sincerity to educate her children in that persuasion, now, in order to induce the Clergy to accede to her wishes, formally but secretly pledged herself to maintain the Catholic religion exclusively. "The overthrow of the monarchy," says a French author, "seemed the necessary consequence of such perfidious contradictions, *et peu s'en fallut que l'effet ne repondit à la cause.*"[1]

The business of the States thus concluded, all eyes were turned upon the approaching Colloquy. The Queen-Mother and her council, having decided to take this important step, had been at the same time anxious to shelter themselves, as far as in them lay, from responsibility; and had provided that the demand of the States should receive the sanction of the Parliament of Paris. The following clause had been therefore inserted in the Edict of July:— Resolved, "That the Prelates of the kingdom being assembled, safe-conducts shall be sent to the ministers of the religion called the *New*, in order that they may in security appear, and be heard in their confession of faith:— that the endeavour may be made to convince them by the word of God, as it has been explained by the Doctors of the first five hundred years after our Lord." This resolution was the more willingly acceded to by all present, because the Cardinal de Lorraine "promised and assured them, that he would vanquish the said ministers by argument, and require no other arms."[2]

Nevertheless, the deputies from the faculty of the Sorbonne, on the first rumour of the intended Colloquy,

[1] And the effect fell little short of the cause. [2] La Place.

presented themselves before the Council to represent the inconveniences that might arise from the projected conferences; but they were coldly answered that the thing was determined upon, and dismissed without any other satisfaction.

Safe-conducts were now dispatched to the principal Reformed ministers; and Poissy, five leagues from Paris, appointed as the place of conference. But before the assembly could meet, Catherine, by advice of the Bishop of Valence, wrote a letter to the Pope to explain her situation and justify her proceedings; the contents of which would appear to shew that she was anxious to secure for herself the reputation of a profound theologian, as well as that of an enlightened politician.

After recapitulating at length the fruitless efforts which had been made to arrest the progress of the new opinions, she says, "The numbers of those who have separated from the Romish church are so great, that they are no longer to be restrained by the rigour of laws, or by the force of arms. The party having become so powerful, through the multitudes of the nobility and magistracy that have adopted it, that it is become formidable in every part of the kingdom. But, by the grace of God, there are found among them neither libertines, anabaptists, nor partisans of opinions that are regarded as monstrous. All admit the twelve articles of the *Symbole*, in the manner in which these articles are explained by the seven Œcumenic Councils.[1] On this account many zealous Catholics are of opinion, that they ought not to be cut off from the communion of the Church; and that they might be tolerated without danger; which might prove a first step

[1] This is an error on the part of Catherine, or the Bishop de Valence, who assisted, it is supposed, in the composition of this letter; there were properly but *five* Œcumenic Councils. See note on the Abrégé de Thou, vol. iii.

towards the re-union of the Greek and Latin Churches. Should your Eminence not approve of this suggestion; they are of opinion—so urgent is the evil—that recourse must be had to extraordinary measures, in order to recal those who have separated from, and retain those who still adhere to the Church. To accomplish the first of these objects they believe no better method will be found, than frequent conferences between the Doctors on either side; and for the second, that all subjects of scandal should be removed. As for instance, that God having especially forbidden the use of images, *and St. Gregory having disapproved of it*, that they should absolutely be banished from all places destined for divine worship, and that certain prayers and exorcisms, not in the essence of the sacrament of baptism might be omitted. These pious persons are persuaded, Holy Father, that among all Christians without distinction, communion under both kinds should be re-established. Many are scandalised at seeing the faithful communicate without those general prayers which ought always to precede this awful sacrament. They would desire that, following the ancient custom, the bishops should, the first Sunday in every month, assemble those who wish to approach the holy table, where, after having sung the Psalms in the vulgar tongue, all should make a general confession, and hear the explanation of various parts of Holy Scripture relating to the Eucharist." After remonstrating on the use of the Latin tongue in religious services, and the introduction of what were called *messes basses*, where the priest communicated alone, the people merely assisting as spectators, the Queen concludes, "These are the evils which it appears necessary to remedy; it being well understood that these worthy people have no desire to diminish the authority of the Sovereign Pontiff, nor that the ministry of the Church

should be abolished on account of the errors of her ministers," &c.

This letter, and the reports which reached Rome,[1] must have given Pius the Fourth good reason to apprehend that another kingdom was on the eve of escaping from the authority of the triple crown. In his perplexity, he had recourse to a measure very prudent, and unfortunately in its event but too successful. He resolved immediately to dispatch a legate into France, under pretence of presiding at the approaching conferences; and he chose for this purpose Hyppolite d'Este, one of the most accomplished statesmen of his time. The man selected was neither a haughty prelate, nor a gloomy bigot, nor perhaps a very learned theologian; but a man of the world, gentle, wily, insinuating, and formed by his very nature to conduct delicate negotiations; and, perhaps, it is not too much to say, that France to this very hour may rue his success in this. "*S'accommoder au temps, et ne point se precipiter, est le moyen par lequel on advancera beaucoup mieux les affaires, que par toute autre remède violente: ce que j'ai si bien experimenté, qu'assurément je puis dire, qu'ayant travaillé jusqu' à present avec douceur, et sans me hâter, j'ai plus profité, que les autres n'ont fait par leur aigreur, et par leur trop grande précipitation.*"[1] Such are his own expressions.

The Cardinal de Ferrara was nearly allied to the royal family of France. He possessed 60,000 crowns ecclesiastical revenue in that kingdom, holding, besides, the

[1] Catherine, to prevent however the intelligence of the Colloquy reaching Rome prematurely, had had recourse to the expedient of robbing her own couriers, and those of the foreign ambassadors, in the mountains of Savoy.

[2] To accommodate to the time, and precipitate nothing, is the means by which affairs are better advanced than by violent remedies; an experience I have so often made, that I may truly say that, having laboured with patience and gentleness, I have done more than others by their harshness and too great precipitation.—Negociations divers d'Hyppolite d'Este, p. 3.

office of Protector of France at Rome, by virtue of which he levied five per cent. upon all "*expéditions consistoriales*," which he rigidly exacted. His instructions were to prevent anything being settled at the Conference, and to provide that all should be referred to the Council of Trent.

The Pope answered the Queen's letter in gentle terms, representing, that as he had already resolved to summon a council, chiefly with a view to remedy the disorders of the Church of France, a national council was unnecessary; but that, being satisfied by her representations that the council she proposed was merely provisional, he had deputed the Cardinal de Ferrara to preside at it; and begged of her to await his arrival some few days, and consult with him on all matters connected with the Church. Catherine was far from showing so much complaisance. Already the Protestant divines began to assemble at Poissy. They came in number about ten or twelve, of which the principal were, Theodore Beza, Peter Martyr, Augustin Marlorat, Jean Raimond, Martin, et François Morel; the most part being from Geneva, but one or two from Germany. On the part of the Catholics, besides the King and the Court, were assembled, the Cardinals de Lorraine, de Tournon, de Bourbon, d'Armagnac, and de Guise, the most eminent bishops and theologians, and several doctors of the Sorbonne.

Another person, far from insignificant, was likewise brought to St. Germains by the rumour of the Colloquy. This was Jeanne, Queen of Navarre, whose religious feelings, as she advanced in years, had increased in seriousness and fervour. Being made aware of the favourable disposition manifested by Catherine towards the Reform, and that she felt embarrassed with regard to the arrangements for lodging the ministers, whom she dared not at present receive in the Castle of St. Germains, Jeanne

quitted Navarre and came to Court. Here she opened her house for their reception, and exerted herself in every possible manner in their favour; and it was with her that Beza resided while he remained at Poissy.

The Queen of Navarre brought with her her son, at that time little more than seven years of age, but remarkable, even then, for his sprightly repartees, his engaging manners, his quick and penetrating intellect.

Calvin had refused to appear at this Colloquy, and had nominated Theodore de Beze, or Beza, to represent him. Beza belonged to a noble family of the Nivernais, and had been educated at Bourges by the same Melchior Valmor, who is supposed to have converted Calvin. His youth had been one of licentious indulgence, which, unfortunately, some early poetical publications had rendered notorious; but at two-and-thirty a dangerous illness had occasioned serious reflections. He embraced the Reformed religion, sold his benefices, married, and retired to Geneva. Here Calvin, who soon became aware of his merits and abilities, received him. After some years probation, he was associated with himself in the ministry, and looked upon as his successor; somewhat to the surprise and indignation, it must be confessed, of the other ministers, who regarded Beza at first as little more than a wit and man of the world. But these sentiments were of short duration. His piety and regularity were unquestionable; in erudition he surpassed them all; and the elegance and facility of his style, the beauty of his person, and the grace and politeness of his manners, served to recommend, in a remarkable degree, the doctrine he taught; and rendered him particularly useful in the conduct of those negotiations with foreign princes, in which the Reformed churches were so frequently engaged. He no sooner appeared at St. Germains, than his manners and accomplish-

ments threw into the shade all the other ministers who accompanied him.

Beza reached St. Germains on the 23rd of August. The next day "he preached," he tells us, "in the hall of the Prince de Condé, where a very great and notable audience were assembled, without either tumult or scandal. The same evening he was called, after nightfall, into the chamber of the King of Navarre. Here he found the Queen-Mother, the King of Navarre, the Prince (de Condé), the Cardinals de Bourbon and Lorraine, the Duke d'Estampes, and Madame de Crussol."[1] It was now that the Cardinal de Lorraine was introduced to Beza, being anxious to gage the powers of his future antagonist. Addressing him in the midst of the company, he prayed him to remember his French extraction, and that the gifts with which it had pleased God to endow him, belonged to his country; so that his return ought to restore that peace to France which his departure had destroyed. Beza answered with modesty, 'That effects too great were attributed to one so insignificant as himself.'

He then presented a petition to the Queen-Mother, containing four or five articles relating to the terms of the conference. These were: 1st, That at the Colloquy the bishops should be admitted as parties, and not as judges. 2nd, That the King in person should preside, accompanied by the Queen-Mother, the Princes of the blood, and the members of the Council of State. 3rd, That all questions should be determined by a reference to the Word of God, as contained in the canonical books of the Old and New Testament; and should any difficulty arise in the expounding of passages, that recourse should be had to the Hebrew text for the Old, and to the original Greek for the New Testament. 4th, That secretaries should be ap-

[1] Beza, Hist. des Eglises.

pointed to take a *procès verbal*[1] of all that might be conceded by either party. Catherine replied, with some coolness, that it was her interest, as much as his, that the conference should be equitably regulated, and that she should herself assist at it, and take care that proper persons were appointed to collect its acts.

Beza and Lorraine had afterwards frequent private conferences.[1] The Cardinal was not without hope that the Calvinist divine might be found accessible to the temptations of ambition or avarice, and he longed to obtain the credit of so important a conversion. On one occasion, Lorraine began, "I am glad to see and hear you. I adjure you, in the name of God, to confer with me; that I may hear your reasons, and you mine. You will see that I am not so black as I am painted." Beza thanked him, and begged him to continue in such sentiments; on which the Dame de Crussol said, (for she was free in her words,) "That it would be better to bring pen and paper, to make the Cardinal sign what he should say and confess; for," added she, "to-morrow he may say just the contrary." "She guessed rightly," says La Planche; "for the next morning it was reported that the Cardinal had silenced Beza in argument, at which the Constable rejoiced; and the Queen was forced to tell him that he was very ill-informed."

[1] Garnier. [2] Hist. des Cinq Rois.

THE COLLOQUY OF POISSY.

## CHAPTER IV.

COLLOQUY OF POISSY.—ASSEMBLY OF NOTABLES.—EDICT OF JANUARY.

On the 9th of September the Court left St. Germains and arrived about noon at Poissy, where the refectory of one of the largest convents had been prepared for the important conference. Opposite to the entrance door, and within a splendid balustrade, was placed the King, with the Duke of Orleans and the King of Navarre on his right; on his left the Queen-Mother, the Queen of Navarre, and the Princess Marguerite, then quite a child. Behind their chairs sat the Princes, Princesses, the Knights of the Order, and gentlemen and ladies attached to the Court; forming a brilliant circle, adorned as they were with all the magnificence—the gold and silver brocades, rich

silks, velvets, and profusion of feathers and jewels common to the dress of that period. On either side, and within the balustrade, were arranged the Princes of the Catholic Church: six cardinals, and thirty-six bishops, arrayed in their splendid ecclesiastical habits of gold, purple, and crimson: behind them, on lower benches, were a number of the most celebrated doctors of theology: the area was crowded with spectators.

Silence being commanded, the King arose and addressed the prelates in a few words; he said, "that he had there assembled them for two objects. First, to effect some reform in the Catholic Church; and, secondly, with the hope to terminate those disputes which had arisen with respect to matters of faith, by bringing all men to unanimity of opinion."

The Chancellor then harangued the assembly. After a summary of the troubles which had afflicted the kingdom during the last reign, he said, that no remedy it had been thought would prove so effectual against these evils as to call together the most learned doctors of the new, in order that they might confer with those of the ancient religion, and might thus either be convinced of their errors, or convicted of obstinacy and pertinacity in adhering to them. That safe-conducts, therefore, had been transmitted to the ministers of the pretended Reform, (*la religion pretendue Reformée,*) inviting them to repair to St. Germains; in consequence of which they were at this moment assembled, and waiting till it should please the Council to give them audience. He finished his speech with enumerating the advantages possessed by a National over a General Council. This part of his harangue gave offence to the Cardinal de Tournon, and he demanded a copy of the words in writing, that he might consider and answer them; but De l'Hôpital, aware

that he might be brought under an ecclesiastical censure for the sentiments he expressed upon general Councils of the Church, evaded the request by saying, that he spoke as usual without preparation, and that he had not his speech set down in writing.

A signal was now made to the Captain of the Guards to introduce the Reformed Ministers.

They entered in their simple black gowns and Geneva bands, escorted by a splendid group of two-and-twenty of the first gentlemen of the Court, and were ranged outside the balustrade which separated them from the rest of the assembly.

Beza then addressed the King. He began by entreating him not to take it amiss, if, called to an enterprise far beyond his strength, he had recourse before proceeding further, to the great Father of lights for assistance and support in this important moment of his life. Then falling upon his knees, while all his colleagues reverently followed his example, he began an earnest and humble prayer to God;—and as he proceeded, the hearts of all present were melted. He enumerated, without bitterness, the past afflictions of his brethren and sisters in the faith, and their present and manifold sufferings and perils. He enlarged upon the hopes to which the accession of a young King, surrounded by wise councillors, gave rise: and he prayed to the Almighty Father of them all, to strengthen by His grace, the first beams of light and consolation which had risen upon the long darkness of forty years. He pleaded his own readiness to receive in candour and humility, any new instruction which this conference might lay open to his soul, as well as his constancy to defend those truths, to the knowledge of which it had pleased God to call him. And he prayed the All-wise to purify his lips and his heart, and to inspire him with words such as

might best maintain the truth in Christ, and contribute to the repose of his afflicted country.

This prayer—still more, perhaps, the softness yet deep earnestness of the tone and manner with which it was delivered, inclined all hearts to look upon him with favour; and the spectators scarcely could bring themselves to believe, that the men who inspired them with so much admiration were the same detested and impious heretics whom, only the evening before, they had regarded as little less than monsters.

Beza then, rising from his knees, commenced his argument, of which Catherine, in a letter to the Bishop of Rennes, then ambassador at the Court of Vienna, thus speaks:[1] "He began his remonstrance, and continued it long, in gentle and moderate terms; often submitting, that, if from holy Scripture it could be proved that he erred in any matter, he was ready to yield to truth; but, falling at last upon the subject of the Lord's Supper, he forgot himself in a comparison so absurd, and so offensive to all present, that I was upon the point of commanding him to be silent. But considering, that as it is their custom to take advantage of everything for the confirmation of their doctrine, they might turn this interruption to their own advantage, I suffered him to proceed." The harangue of Beza was, in truth, on every other point prudent and moderate. He rapidly enumerated the differences that lay between the two religions; occupying himself rather in defending his own opinions, than in attacking those of his adversaries, and carefully avoiding every expression that might engender heat or bitterness. This discourse, in matter, method, and eloquence, was far beyond the age, and was listened to in profound silence, and with the deepest interest, until, when he came to give an

[1] Mem. de Castlenau, additions of Le Laboureur.

account of the opinions held by himself and his brothers upon the subject of the Eucharist, he allowed himself to say, "that though he admitted the very body and blood of Christ were, in the sacrament, received through the Spirit by the faithful; yet that he believed the real body and blood of Christ to be as far from the real bread and wine as the heavens were from the earth."[1]

At these words there was a general murmur throughout the assembly. The Cardinal de Tournon endeavoured to interrupt the daring speaker, but, after a moment's pause, Beza was allowed to proceed; and, calmly resuming his discourse, concluded the subject he had entered upon. When he ended, the Cardinal de Lorraine could not forbear exclaiming, "*Plut à Dieu que cet homme eut été muet, ou que nous eussions été sourds.*"[2] But the Cardinal de Tournon, outraged at once in all his principles and prejudices, and looking upon the obnoxious declaration as the most daring impiety, rose from his seat, and, in a voice rendered impressive by the tremulousness of age and great emotion, conjured the King, in the name of those prelates there assembled—and whom respect for him with difficulty kept in their places—to lend no ear to such scandalous and horrible words. "Strange! that a Calvinist minister should be allowed to blaspheme at pleasure in the presence of a most Christian King, sworn to maintain, in every single point, the holy Catholic faith; that faith in which his royal predecessors had most happily lived, and in great comfort and constancy died;" and he besought him, "at least to suspend his judgment until this most scandalous oration had been fitly and fully answered."

The next day Beza published his harangue, and with it an explanation, in which, though he did not retract, he endeavoured to soften the obnoxious expressions.

[1] De Thou. [2] Would God that man had been mute, or we deaf.

The second conference was appointed for the 16th of September, and was held before the same assembly of princes, nobles, and ladies—anxious to see how the Cardinal de Lorraine would extricate himself from the contest.

The Cardinal was not inclined to enter the lists too hastily. He had demanded some days to prepare his answers, and had not disdained to assist his own eloquence and learning by the erudition of Despense, a profound theologian, and one maintaining very temperate religious opinions.[1] This harangue is much celebrated, and is worthy of his unrivalled talents. He controverted the principle laid down by the Chancellor,—upon the authority of the Council of Nice, it is true, but which had occasioned such general indignation—that Kings and Emperors preside at Councils as moderators and judges; maintaining, by a crowd of quotations from Scripture, and the earliest tradition, that in spiritual matters, Emperors and Kings are sons, not lords; members, not chiefs of the Church; and that to Bishops alone, by virtue of their ordination, belonged the interpretation of the divine word, the direction of consciences, and the regulation of all matters of faith and discipline. He went on to say that the Bishops being, by order of the King, for these purposes assembled, certain men had presented themselves, who, having separated from the communion of the Catholic Church, desired to be restored to it, provided their errors could be proved and their doubts dissipated. He should endeavour, therefore, to answer not all their objections—an endless and hopeless attempt—but to address himself to two principal points, upon which, if they were once brought to acknowledge themselves mistaken, it would afterwards be easy to arrange all minor questions. These

[1] Garnier, xxix. 235.

were the authority of the Church in matters of faith, and the real presence in the sacrament of the Altar. He then proceeded to discuss these subjects with so much eloquence and perspicuity, and, in the judgment of the Catholics present, to determine them so unanswerably, that when he had finished his harangue, the Bishops, with one accord, arose from their seats, and, surrounding the Cardinal de Tournon, decided by acclamation, that there was room for no further dispute, since no man of good faith could by possibility resist such arguments. And the King was implored to command the ministers immediately to sign the confession of these two articles, on pain of being driven ignominiously from his presence. Beza surprised, but in no way confounded, at this manner of settling a question, saw he had no time to lose, and, bending his knee to the King, said, "That having perfectly understood the arguments just recited by M. le Cardinal de Lorraine, and being prepared to answer them article by article, he besought his Majesty to allow him to reply without the smallest delay." This courageous demand raised the spirits of his friends; the Council decided that it was only just and ought to be granted; but the Cardinal having already spoken two hours, the reply was deferred to a future day.

In the interval the Cardinal de Ferrara arrived. Pius the Fourth was well aware of the difficulty of gaining admittance at that moment for a Legate into France; but he trusted that the peculiar facilities afforded to the Cardinal by his circumstances and connexions, would enable him to gain permission to enter the kingdom, and attend the Court—whether admitted or not in his legatorial capacity. The event answered his expectations. Though the Cardinal was insulted at Lyons, and again at St. Germains, even under the eyes of the King, by the pages

and valets of the Court; though libels and caricatures were exhibited at his expense; ("*on imprima à son vitupère une effigie du feu pape Alexandre Sexte son grand père, et la vie et la mort de sa mère Lucrece Borgie;*" and though petitions were presented from the States assembled at Pontoise and from the University of Paris, against the exercise of his authority as Legate; he was allowed to remain. But, he laid down the ensigns of his legatorial office, and appeared simply in the character of a friend, courtier, and mediator. Openly, he sided with no party, whether Bourbon or Guise, Catholic or Protestant, but employed himself indefatigably in sounding the understandings and penetrating the secret interests of those in action before him. He did not oppose the conferences as had been expected, but contented himself with intimating that the King and his brother were too young to assist at such disputations, and would be better represented by their mother; and that the crowd of spectators could only serve to lengthen the dispute by rendering the disputants more unwilling to acknowledge themselves overcome. He therefore advised the Queen to dismiss the assembly, and to select five or six bishops,—leaving the others to return to their dioceses—who should confer in some private place with an equal number of doctors of theology and Reformed ministers.

The Queen adopted his advice, well pleased to get rid of the Cardinal de Tournon and some of the more violent prelates.

While these matters were in debate, the Cardinal de Lorraine had prepared a snare to entrap and confound Beza. It is well known that the Confession of the Lutherans

[1] They printed in contempt of him a figure of the late Pope Alexander the Sixth, his grandfather, and the life and death of his mother, Lucretia Borgia. La Place.

on the subject of the Eucharist differed considerably from that of the followers of Calvin, and indeed very nearly approached that of the Catholics themselves. This difference had occasioned a schism in the Reformed churches. The Cardinal had taken secret measures to bring half a dozen Lutheran divines from Germany into France, in order to engage them in a public contest with Beza. Various accidents had deranged his scheme: one of these doctors had died of a contagious fever at Paris; and the rest, for various reasons, had returned home without even presenting themselves at St. Germains. Accident, however, enabled him to execute his design in another manner.

A certain jurisconsult, named Baudoin, well acquainted with Calvin, pointed out two works of that Reformer, which appeared to offer great advantages. Calvin, in his anxiety to unite the Reformed churches, and conciliate those princes who adhered to the Confession of Augsburgh, had, in one of these works, expressed himself on the subject of the Eucharist in terms which his sentiments would not, perhaps, strictly justify; the other book contained a confession of forty ministers of the Duchy of Wirtemberg to the same effect. From these two works the Cardinal extracted a formula of faith; and handing it to Beza, said, "Were he as anxious for peace as he wished to appear, he could have no objection to subscribe to a doctrine taught by his own brethren, and consigned in their public writings;" and presenting the two works, "he begged he would assure himself that no alteration in the expressions had been made, and summoned him to declare upon the following day whether he would adopt the formula, or not."

The embarrassment of the ministers was great. It was impossible to sign the formula, at the risk of being disavowed by their own churches; on the other hand, they

felt that a refusal would afford the Cardinal a pretext for breaking up the conferences, and would throw a stigma upon Calvin as the author of this paper; a paper the publication of which, though written in a spirit of conciliation, he had in fact ever afterwards regretted. The address of Beza extricated them from this dilemma. When called upon for his answer, he said, that before he and his brothers declared their opinion upon this formula, they wished to know whether it was presented by the Cardinal in his own name alone, or in that of the Assembly of the clergy, as a means of reconciliation. The Cardinal answered, that it had not been necessary to consult the Assembly. Beza asked whether the paper contained the Cardinal's own confession, and whether he were himself ready to sign it. The Cardinal, indignant to find himself thus questioned, replied angrily, that they appeared to forget who he was; that they ought to know that he borrowed his opinions from no one, least of all from their divines. Beza quietly replied :—"If the matter stand thus, how can this paper produce conciliation? And to what purpose shall we attach our signature to a writing, that neither you, nor any of your bishops will subscribe?"

The controversy, therefore, continued in its original state, only with some increase of bitterness on both sides. Jaques Lainez, a Jesuit, attached to the Legate, and who had introduced himself among the Catholic doctors, losing all decency, abused the ministers as "apes, foxes, wolves, and serpents," and conjured the Queen with tears to terminate a conference which scandalised the whole Christian world—one in which neither she, the King, nor any of their counsellors, could by possibility be judges, and which ought to be referred to the Council of Trent.

To this attack the reply of Beza was temperate and

witty; and so, without further satisfaction to any of the parties assembled, the Colloquy closed.

The Queen was now half inclined to dismiss the Reformed ministers, and abandon the hope of reconciliation, but she was prevailed upon by those about her to make one more effort. The Bishops of Valence and Seez, Despence, and one or two others, for the Catholics; Beza, Peter Martin, and Marlorat, for the Protestants, met, by her order, in a private house at St. Germains—not to dispute, for they pretty nearly agreed in opinion, but to arrange some common formula in which both communions might unite. One was at length composed, drawn up in the terms used by the Church of Rome, but these terms modified by certain propositions, which restrained their sense, and when the Queen showed the paper to the Cardinal de Lorraine, he vowed he had never believed in any other manner. Unfortunately, however, the faculty of theology examined it with more scrutinising eyes, and indifferent as to who might or might not be implicated in the censure, they condemned it as heretical, captious, and insufficient, upon which the conferences were finally broken up. The ministers for the most part prepared to return home, but Beza still remained in France. Encouraged by the Queen-Mother, he was allowed publicly to preach in the open court belonging to the castle of St. Germains, which, large as it was, could scarcely contain the crowds assembled to hear him. The other ministers were dismissed with honour, and retired, if not victorious, yet greatly encouraged by what was considered this great advance in liberality—the permission to argue on nearly equal terms with the defenders of the ancient Church.

Numerous were the sonnets and epigrams composed upon this occasion by the fertile genius of the Hugonots. The following has been preserved:—

D'un visage hypocrite envers chacun user,
Etonner l'univers du feu de purgatoire ;
Fermer avec pardons de l'enfer la gueule noire ;
Et du pouvoir de Dieu sans vergogne abuser—
D'un concile aposté, la mensonge abuser,
Aux idoles fumeux bailler de Dieu la gloire,
Remettre à tous sermons la besace en memoire ;
Et des gestes farceurs tout le monde amuser :
Tels furent pères saints ! vos divins artifices ;
Pour vous faire bâtir tant de beaux édifices,
Ornés de toutes parts, de joyaux précieux—
Aux mailles de tels rets, et à tels pentières,
Vous prîtes des comtés, et des duchés entieres—
Vous approchant des rois beaucoup plus que des cieux.

Thus vanished every hope of reconciliation built upon conformity of opinion, and it became necessary to try the more practicable measure of preserving peace by toleration and liberty of conscience.

Though the termination of the Colloquy in this unsatisfactory manner was, undoubtedly, a severe disappointment to those who had trusted by such means to pacify the kingdom, yet there appeared no reason to despair of reaping by another method the fruit of their exertions. The Queen-Mother seemed still sincerely devoted to the cause, and still resolved to depress the Guises and restrain the high Catholic party. Of her two contradictory promises, her intention appears at this time really to have been to keep the one conveyed to the two lay-orders of the States by means of the Admiral : in conformity with which promise, she had already taken steps to educate her son in the Reformed religion. She had removed him from the superintendence of Cipierre, (placed over him by the Duke de Guise,) and consigned him to the Prince de la Roche sur-Yon, who, though nominally a Catholic, favoured, it was well known, the Reformed opinions. The Duke de Guise had for the present abandoned the field, and was residing either at his castle of Joinville or on the frontiers ;

while the Cardinal de Lorraine had shewed a temporising disposition at the Colloquy. Encouraged by these circumstances, the party now in authority—of which the Chancellor, Coligny, and the Prince de Condé must be considered the moving spirits—set themselves earnestly to work to overthrow the Edict of July, and to substitute one in its place which might lay the sure foundation of future tranquillity.

The edict of July had indeed proved worse than useless. It was found that the Protestants, encouraged by the example of the Court, disregarded its enactments totally; so that its provisions served only to furnish an excuse for the disorderly fanaticism of the Catholics. To restore anything like peace, it had become absolutely necessary to legalise the Protestant assemblies, and establish liberty of conscience; and so deprive both parties of those apologies for violence furnished by the late measures till now pursued. As a preliminary step, the members of both religions residing in the larger towns were commanded to give up their arms. To this command the Protestants unwillingly submitted, for they knew themselves to be surrounded on every side by their enemies; but their ministers persuaded them to consent upon the assurance that their safety should be provided for. They were accordingly placed openly under the protection of the police; but unfortunately it increased the ill-humour of the Catholics to behold the watch and *maréchaussée* of their towns now actually occupied in attending the Hugonots to and protecting their religious assemblies. At the same time, their priests inveighed without ceasing against the evil administration of affairs. Fresh tumults and disorders ensued. One Jean de Han, a popular preacher, being arrested, we see the mob of Parisians forcing their way to St. Germains, filling the courts of

the palace, and obliging the King to release their favourite. In the Fauxbourg St. Médard, on occasion of the preaching of a Reformed minister, a very alarming disturbance took place, and it is hard to say whether the Protestants or the Catholics shewed the most violence and intemperance. And now, while the lower orders of society filled Paris with noise and confusion, principles tending to the subversion of the monarchy were gravely debated in the theological faculty. John Tanquerel, Bachelor in Theology, advanced in a public thesis, what seems to have been considered then as a new and unheard of pretension, at least in France, but which became ordinary enough afterwards—namely, that the Pope, as vicar of Jesus Christ, might depose Kings and rebel Princes at pleasure. The Chancellor denounced the proposition, and Tanquerel was obliged to disavow it; but this interference of De l'Hôpital irritated the Pope to such a degree, that he charged the Cardinal de Ferrara to offer Charles a bull, giving power to alienate 100,000 crowns church property, if he would shut up the Chancellor "*entre quatre murailles.*"

But things had gone too far for proceedings, such as this last, to be endured. The violence of the Pope, and of the party who supported him, only confirmed the Queen and the Chancellor in their opinion, of the necessity of giving to the Hugonots a legal existence; and making use of their party as a barrier for the throne itself against the usurpations of Rome.

It was an enterprise, however, of no small difficulty, to annul the Edict of July, confirmed as it had been in so solemn a manner; and to effect this, measures of extraordinary solemnity were again had recourse to. An assembly of deputies from the principal parliaments, was

convened, to deliberate once more upon a remedy for the universal distraction. On the 7th of January, 1562, this Assembly of Notables, consisting of the above deputies, with the Princes of the blood, and great officers of the crown, met at St. Germains. De l'Hôpital—at length, as he fondly believed, arrived at the completion of his great design, to end contention by an equitable adjustment of rights, and place the religious of all persuasions equally under the protection of the law—rose from his seat with a grave, and serene aspect, to make his last effort in support of so noble and righteous a cause.

Once more he recapitulated the ineffectual attempts made by preceding Kings, to confine the freedom of thought by penal enactments. Again he described the rapid increase made both in reputation and numbers, by the professors of these long condemned opinions. He gave a summary of all the various edicts, either compulsory or indulgent, which from time to time had been issued—all equally vague, imperfect, and ineffectual—"terror, clemency, menaces, exhortations, caustics, emollients, all have been tried in succession, and all in vain." "The ministers of the Crown are blamed," he says, "for holding the King in a perfidious neutrality. It is averred that he ought at once to be placed at the head of one party, in order that he might extinguish with one mighty effort the other. These daring politicians are afraid to name Civil war; but it is plain that to civil war such opinions inevitably lead. "I ask them, have they considered in what they would embark the King? Do they reflect upon his age?—And whether he could readily find a military chief willing to incur, under such circumstances, the responsibility of such an execution?—It is difficult, in the universal dissimulation which prevails at present,

to distinguish the friends of one party from those of the other—difficult to know on whom we may rely.—Will men be found ready to engage an enemy, in whose ranks they may find a father, a brother, a friend?—To ravage castles and estates, hereafter perchance their own!—And even should the result be a complete success, what would ensue? The desolation and ruin of the entire kingdom! exposed naked and without defence to the fury of ambitious neighbours. Let us deprecate such remedies, and seek one more analogous to the nature of the evil—an evil which, being purely moral, will never yield to mere physical applications."

He then besought them not to waste time in discussing the merits of the two religions, but to find the means of tranquillising the public mind by taking away the subject matter of dispute. "Ought the new religion to be tolerated, according to the demand of the Nobles and Tiers État assembled at Pontoise? Or must it be regarded as a thing impossible that men of different opinions should live in peace in one society;—in other words, that a heretic is incapable of fulfilling the duties of a citizen? These, gentlemen, are the questions you are called upon to decide."

The debate which ensued was long and vehement; but the Protestants had the advantage in the Assembly. Deserted by the Duke de Guise, the Catholics found themselves the weaker party; and though the argument was maintained by the Cardinal de Tournon, the Maréchals de Brissac, St. André, Termes, and the Constable himself—who treated his nephews with an excess of harshness which they found it hard to bear—the Chancellor triumphed: and after ten days' debate, on the 17th of January, 1562, an edict, in the preparation of which the Queen-Mother had taken a large share, was at length agreed upon.

This edict is the celebrated Edict of January, the palladium and charter of the Protestants. The privileges it conferred were, as we in our happier times should deem, but scanty at the best; yet did they hail the gift with an enthusiasm of joy, which, when the provisions of the enactment are regarded, marks the moderation of their wishes and expectations, and the honest sincerity of their hearts. Alas! moderate as was the boon,—moderate as were these wishes and expectations, they were doomed to be miserably disappointed. This edict of peace, the result of such persevering efforts—of such sincere and virtuous endeavours in the cause of justice,—proved but the signal for open rebellion against the laws on the part of the Catholics,—and became to the unhappy members of the Reformed churches, only a source of frustrated hope, irritating disappointment, and final despair.

D'Aubigné, exulting in this Edict as the climax of success, crowns, as he says, the first book of his History with its provisions. "*Non débattus de parti en parti, mais seulement accordé par la plus célèbre assemblée de grands qui ait été en France plusieurs années devant et après.*"[1]

THE EDICT OF JANUARY.

"Charles, by the grace of God, King of France, to all those who these present letters shall see, health! Every one hath seen and known how it has pleased the Lord, for many years until now, to permit that this our kingdom shall have been afflicted with divers seditions, troubles, and tumults of our subjects, all raised and nourished by diversity of opinions upon religion and scruple of con-

[1] Not contested between party and party, but granted by the most celebrated assembly of worthies which France for years before and since had seen.

[2] D'Aubigné. Hist. Univ.

science, against which to provide and hinder the encrease of this conflagration many are the assemblies and convocations which have been made, of the greatest and most notable persons of our realm, &c." After representing the perfect inefficiency of all former provisions to restrain an evil which from day to day had increased, and more especially the inutility of the rigorous enactments of the Edict of July, the preamble thus concludes: "The execution of the above Edict having proved, therefore, difficult and perilous, and these troubles and disorders having increased more than before, to our great regret and displeasure, we have esteemed that the best and most useful remedy that we could apply would be (by the infinite grace and goodness of the Lord and with his aid) to find some means of pacifying by gentleness the bitterness of this malady, and reconciling the wills of our subjects to a union. Hoping that with time, the assistance of a good, holy, free, and general or national Council, and the virtue of our coming majority, conducted and directed by the hand of the Lord,—hereafter to establish that which will most redound to his honour and glory, and to the repose and tranquillity of our people and subjects. Therefore, aided by the good and prudent counsel of the Queen, our very honoured mother (*très honorée mère*), of our dear and well beloved cousins, the Cardinal de Bourbon, Prince de Condé, Duc de Montpensier, and Prince de la Roche-sur-Yon, princes of our blood, and our very dear and well-beloved cousins, the Cardinal de Guise, the Duke d'Aumale, the Duke de Montmorenci, Constable, peers of France, the Duke d'Estampes, the Maréchals de Brissac, and de Bourdillon, the Sieurs d'Andelot, de Sansac, and de Cipierre, and other good and great personages of our privy council, we have advised, for the public welfare of this our kingdom, to enact and command as follows."

The principal provisions of the edict thus announced were,—first, The Protestants were commanded to restore to the Roman clergy all ecclesiastical property, whether churches, cloisters, sacred vases, or ornaments, of which they might have deprived them; to abstain, under pain of death, from any interference in the payment of tithes, from breaking or defacing any cross or image, and from the public or private exercise of their religion *within* the towns.

On the other hand, all pains and penalties on account of religion contained in preceding edicts, more especially in that of July, to be suspended till the decision of a general Council—Religious assemblies to be allowed *without* the towns, under protection of the magistrates; the congregation attending, unarmed, except the gentlemen wearing the sword and dagger, and an honourable place to be reserved for the magistrate when he shall see fit to attend. Synods to be held, but not without permission from a magistrate, who shall have the right to assist thereat.

No enrolment of men at arms, or general levy of money to be made, nor general imposition, even for purposes of charity;—marriage not to be allowed within the degrees of consanguinity, prohibited by the Catholic church.—Every minister to present himself by a certain day before the nearest judge to swear to the observation of these articles; and to preach no doctrine contrary to the true word of God as declared by the Synod of Nice, and in the canonical books of the Old and New Testament; nor to use expressions derogatory to the Catholic church; nor to itinerate from village to village.

The Catholic preachers were in like manner commanded to abstain from invectives and offensive expressions. "These being things which have served until now, rather

to excite the people to sedition than to persuade them to devotion."

Articles for the prompt suppression of disorders, of libels and placards exciting to disorder, and for the punishment of all who shall in any manner violate the public peace, conclude the edict.

This edict is a history in itself, at once a justification of the Hugonots, and a refutation of all the ambition, worldliness, and unnecessary violence with which they have been unjustly charged.

The almost affecting moderation of its provisions—the sincere and honest desire to avoid contention—and the single-hearted purpose to preserve a conscience void of offence, and to obtain with as little scandal as possible to others, that which to their faithful and believing hearts was the greatest of all earthly objects,—the power to worship the God of truth in spirit and in truth,—breathes through every line. It remains, and will for ever remain, a monument to the disinterestedness and Christian gentleness of the great and good men who prepared it.

"If we have our religion," the Admiral was known to have said, "what do we want more;" and in that spirit is every enactment conceived. Alas! and again alas! over that beautiful France, and that animated, chivalric, and ardently devoted race,—devoted to high thoughts, sometimes not wisely, but too well,—who at this turning point of their eventful history were precipitated into the wrong path! Through what seas of blood! what confusions, obstructions, miseries, and crimes! late—but not too late, to recover their lost way.

This edict, justly styled the Edict of Pacification, of which the terms are so temperate, the indulgence granted so moderate, and the general provisions so wise, excited

the greatest opposition. It was registered in the Parliaments of Rouen, Bordeaux, Grenoble, and Toulouse, for the Protestants were strong in the provinces to which these belonged; but in Burgundy, Tavannes, who commanded there as lieutenant-general, set the example of open disobedience to the government. "The registry of the edict," says his Memoirs, "was *virtuously* prevented by the Sieur de Tavannes, who opposed it flatly, for which he obtained much honour."[1]

At Aix, where the Catholics were in force, not only did the first Consul oppose the registry, but he pointed his cannon and prepared for a siege, in case the government should think proper to enforce it.

In the parliament of Paris the opposition was so violent, that suspicion began to arise that some new and secret influence was at work fomenting it. The King of Navarre being despatched on the part of the King to remonstrate upon the subject, was thought to conduct the affair with so marked a coldness, that it alarmed the Queen, and every effort was made to ensure the registry before a new and more perplexing difficulty than any yet presented, should find time to develope itself. Catherine promised certain pecuniary advantages, threatened, flattered, and cajoled by turns. The Parliament was informed that their delay kept the public mind in continual agitation, and that seditions and insurrections would be the infallible consequence. They answered, then it would be necessary to renew the ancient edicts. Their refusal to register was confirmed by the solemn expression, *nec possumus, nec debemus.*

A scene which has a very theatrical air terminated the dispute. On the 31st of March a general commission was given to the Prince de la Roche-sur-Yon, to procure

[1] Mém. de Tavannes.

the registry by any means. He went accordingly down to the Chamber, and pointed out the absolute and immediate necessity for obedience; declaring that the delay was throwing the provinces into confusion, and that the partisans of the new opinions, resolved to submit no longer to insupportable rigours, were arming and marching on the capital to seek justice for themselves. In short, that the Parliament had only to choose between the edict and civil war. While the Assembly hesitated, the Maréchal de Montmorenci, Governor of Paris, came down, dispatched by the Queen, with advices that divers bodies of horse and foot were advancing upon the capital; that she was totally ignorant whence they came, or by whom raised; but that it was the earnest petition of the Catholic inhabitants that they might be rescued from destruction by the immediate publication of the edict. He added, that the Hugonot bourgeoisie and the university were now in arms, excusing themselves for thus defying the King's authority by the absolute necessity of enforcing the publication of an edict, which would alone confer on them a civil existence; and which being secured, they promised to give every proof of submission. While the Prince was yet speaking, certain of the King's officers hastily entered the chamber, to report that a troop of 400 or 500 men, armed *de toutes pièces*, filled the courts, demanding to speak to the President, and threatening to cut him in pieces if the edict were not registered. This scene, however got up, had its due effect. Montmorenci retired to address the multitude,[1] and the Parliament registered the edict provisionally, "*en obtempérant à la volonté du Roi; et jusqu' à ce qu'il en fut autrement ordonné.*"[2]

Thus did religious toleration, to a certain extent, be-

[1] Garnier, Hist. de France.

[2] Yielding to the authority of the King, and until it was ruled otherwise.

come the recognised law of the land, and the efforts of De l'Hôpital and Coligny were so far crowned with success. Time, and a steady perseverance in the same system, would, no doubt, have smoothed all remaining animosities,—allayed the angry and contemptuous feelings of both parties,—accustomed them to live in peace and good neighbourhood, and proved the falsehood of a maxim, till then generally adopted, that "two religions cannot with safety be allowed to exist in the same State."

In all probability the Protestants would have in time obtained the ascendancy in point of numbers; any other ascendancy seems, in this instance, not to have been contemplated. At all events, more just notions of rights and liberty, more enlarged sentiments, more generally diffused knowledge would have accompanied the peaceful establishment of the Reformed religion in the kingdom. But to the lasting misfortune of France, an event occurred, which, trifling as would have been its importance under other circumstances, sufficed in the present instance to blast all the opening prospects of peace and happiness: and by that mysterious and sad fatality, which seems at times to wait upon human affairs—the man who had neither energy nor ability to be of service to his country, possessed sufficient power to ruin her. So much easier is it in this world to effect evil than good, and so small is the capacity necessary for mischief.

## CHAPTER V.

LEAGUES OF THE TRIUMVIRATE AND NAVARRE WITH SPAIN.—CONDE'S NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE GERMAN PRINCES.—STATE OF PARIS.

It has been related that the King of Navarre's conduct when deputed to negotiate with the Parliament of Paris, upon occasion of the registration of the Edict of January, had been marked by a very suspicious coldness—the cause of this was not long a secret.

During the winter, an intrigue had been carrying on, and had at length been brought to a successful conclusion, which resulted in a coalition so thoroughly monstrous, as to leave—not only the unnatural union of the Constable with the Duke de Guise, but the most unprincipled coalitions that have been recorded in history, far behind it.

This coalition was formed between the King of Navarre and the Princes of the house of Lorraine—between men, till now opposed upon every principle, moral, political, or religious—separated by contending interests, and by the memory of the most unpardonable insults, and the deepest injuries—and the consequences were disastrous as their cause was base and vicious.

This ruinous abandonment of his principles and his party, on the side of Anthony of Navarre, may be considered as the first of that long train of evils which Spanish influence entailed upon France. This influence had been gradually but alarmingly increasing during the three last years, and its effects display in the most

vivid light, the mischief of those unnatural alliances with foreigners, which are among the worst consequences of civil dissensions.

The late proceedings of the French government had occasioned, it must be remarked, very serious anxiety to the Catholic powers—more especially to the Pope, and to the King of Spain. The first began to anticipate the escape of another kingdom from the rule of the Catholic church; while the King of Spain, both tyrant and bigot, meditating at once the establishment of despotism, and the extermination of heresy within his own territories—regarded with excessive jealousy the increasing reputation of a sect, so obnoxious on account both of its religious and political principles, and in dominions so closely bordering upon his own.

Philip, as the champion of Catholicism, had long exercised, as I have before said, a very undue influence over the Catholic party in France. The jealousy now excited by the indulgence granted to the Protestants, through the late proceedings, had afforded the King of Spain a specious pretence for interfering, more openly than he had as yet presumed to do, in the internal affairs of the government. During the ministry of the Guises, the closest understanding had existed between the two Courts, and their measures had been influenced by Spanish maxims of state; but it was now that the Catholic party in general first presumed to set the example of appealing to a foreigner against the measures of their own legitimate and existing government—and the first act of those proceedings which may so justly be qualified as treason, took place during the July or August 1561, and emanated from the Catholic clergy.

A priest named Arthur Desiré was about that time intercepted on a journey to Spain, whither he was the

bearer of a certain petition, which originated it is said in the Sorbonne, with the connivance of the Cardinal de Lorraine. In this petition, Philip was implored, in the name of the Clergy of France, to lend his assistance against the increasing power of the Protestants—not sufficiently repressed, it was said, by a King minor, or by inefficient councillors—and to him, as to a most powerful and religious Prince, the dignity, lives, and fortunes, of the first order of the kingdom, were most especially recommended. It appears that other applications of a like nature had been before made, which had encouraged Philip at the time of the Colloquy, to express his dissatisfaction loudly, and to add menaces to his complaints—menaces not to be lightly disregarded. Reports obscure, but alarming, were very generally diffused throughout Germany and Italy; while the opening of the Council of Trent gave rise to innumerable speculations, political as well as religious, "with which," says a contemporary, "the fertile genius of the Italian writers fed the restless mind of the public." Formidable principles were in some of these laid down. It was averred, "that, since the Fathers of the Council of Trent were not possessed of means powerful enough to carry their decisions into effect, a Catholic league should be formed, in order to constrain such Princes as might have separated from the Church, again to submit to her authority, and to punish by extermination all such as should refuse to obey her decrees."[1]

The King of Spain was proposed as the fit head and chief of this new crusade; and it was very generally reported that troops were actually being enrolled at this very moment, and for this very purpose, in Spain and Italy. Catherine, terrified at these rumours, despatched

[1] De Thou, Beza.

ambassadors to make explanations to Philip, to endeavour to cover with specious political pretences the measures she had adopted, and to remonstrate against the design of introducing Spanish soldiers into France. "When the Queen," says De Thou, "understood that Philip of Spain was wonderfully incensed at her, for having consented to the Colloquy of Poissy; and at what had there taken place; she sent to him Jaques de Montberon, Seigneur d'Argence, to justify her." "It was with extreme difficulty, and only by the intervention of the Queen Isabella, that he could obtain an audience. He was referred by Philip to the Duke of Alva, who, having heard the excuses which were made, replied sternly, that the King his master was indeed sensibly afflicted to find, in a kingdom situated so near his own, and one with which he was so closely connected, the interests of religion treated with so much indifference. It had been, and was still, his desire, that those severities adopted by his father-in-law, Henry, at the *Assembly of Wednesday*, and those which Francis, his brother, had, when better advised, exercised at Amboise, should be once more put in force against the sectaries—and he besought the Queen-Mother earnestly to consider the real interests of the kingdom and of the young children committed to her charge, and to apply a timely remedy against a daily increasing evil. Otherwise the greatest dangers would arise to France, dangers almost equally formidable to Philip himself, and the prospect of which he could not overlook. Therefore, having consulted well upon this matter within himself, and among his most faithful councillors, he had resolved to adventure all he possessed, and life itself, if necessary, in crushing this common pestilence. To this, the incessant complaints and prayers of the people, the nobles, and the clerical orders of the kingdom of France incited

him—complaints and prayers, to which, unless he were also wanting to himself, he could not be inattentive. Moreover, that his intention of introducing foreign troops into her kingdom ought not to displease the Queen—for that, in a cause like this, the soldiers of Spain ought not to be regarded as foreigners, seeing that the question at issue was equally interesting to both countries—being the preservation of the religion of their ancestors, and the assertion of the royal authority—finally that the forces he proposed to send would not be under the command of Philip, but would carry on the war under the orders of the King of France himself, and subject in everything to his good will and pleasure."

Such was the only answer to be obtained from Philip. D'Argence shortly afterwards returned to France, where he made it clearly appear, not only by his own testimony, but by that of the Bishop of Limoges, the resident ambassador, that the Catholic nobility of France maintained the closest union with the Court of Spain.

Still, the Catholic party wanted that sanction to their resistance, which could alone be afforded by a chief entitled from his rank and circumstances to an influential voice in the government. So long as the legal administration remained united and resolved to maintain the Edict of January, so long might it rely upon the support of that mass of general opinion which usually attends established and legitimate authority. To divide the kingdom with any chance of success, it was necessary first to divide the government—and the means did not escape the penetration of those able men Prosper, St. Croix, ambassador for the Pope, Perronnet de Chantonnai, and Manriquez, for Spain, and the Cardinal de Ferrara—they found them in the selfishness and weakness of Anthony of Navarre.

The claims of this Prince to authority, rivalled, if they did not exceed, those of the Queen-Mother, and could he be induced to throw the weight of his influence into the scale with the Catholic party,—which, in numerical force, still greatly exceeded that of the Reformed,—there was little doubt but that, aided by the talents of the Guises, a successful struggle might yet be maintained for the supremacy, and that long tyranny be re-established now upon the eve of destruction.

To reconcile Navarre, therefore, with the house of Lorraine, and restore him to the bosom of the Catholic church, was the object to which the wily legate, (for such had been the effect produced upon all by the gentleness and apparent impartiality of the Cardinal de Ferrara, that even the Protestants had desired the confirmation of his legatine powers,) devoted the best efforts of his subtle and insinuating genius.

He began by cultivating the most friendly relations with the chiefs of the Reformed party, and it was through the Cardinal de Chatillon that he obtained an introduction to the King and Queen of Navarre: he laid the attention of Jeanne asleep by adroitly flattering her in her religious opinions,[1] and cultivated every occasion of intercourse with Navarre, until he finally accomplished his object. He saw in Anthony one whom ambition and the love of distinction alone had led to place himself at the head of a powerful dissident faction; and that the cause in which he was engaged had for him little interest. He perceived that it was regarded only as a means to enhance his importance in the eyes of Spain, and favour his negotiations on that leading subject of all his thoughts and wishes,

[1] He even went so far as to accompany her to some of her religious assemblies; conduct which, till explained, excited very severe animadversions at Rome.

the lost kingdom of Navarre.—That what little seriousness there had once existed in his religious convictions had been almost entirely destroyed by the differences of doctrine which, at the Colloquy of Poissy, he was first made aware, existed among the Reformed churches,—while his attachment to the Chatillons, and even to the Prince de Condé himself, had yielded to feelings of jealousy, upon discovering how much their popularity and influence in the party exceeded his own. A man thus disposed is already on sale, and the price was not difficult to find.

Anthony had charged D'Argence when in Spain, with a private negotiation of his own; he was to endeavour to form some arrangement for the restitution of the lost kingdom. When the proposition was made however to the Duke of Alva, he received it with expressions of the most undisguised contempt and ridicule — asking what favour at such a time like this, such an one, a favourer of heresy (*fauteur d' hérésie*), could presume to expect from his Catholic Majesty; adding, that if he wished to recover the possessions of his ancestors, it was for him first to prove his good faith and conduct, by renouncing at once the cause of heresy in France, and entering into a war of extermination against the sectaries, to pursue to utter destruction his brother, the Chatillons, and all their adherents.[1]

This reply having been communicated to Navarre, the Legate offered his mediation, and that of the Pope, in the business; and under these auspices the negotiations were once more resumed, and a commission to consider his claims was finally nominated in Spain, at which the Duke of Alva presided.

Having haughtily laid it down as a principle, that his master was under no obligation of restitution, or even of

[1] De Thou.

remuneration to the Count de Vendosme (for by that title alone was Navarre recognised at the insolent Spanish court), Alva proceeded to say, "that though the King his master held Spanish Navarre by an unquestionable title, having received it from his ancestors,[1] *who being just Princes could do no wrong*, nevertheless in his zeal for true religion, he was willing, could the Count de Vendosme be induced to add the weight of his influence to so noble a cause, to offer as a recompense for such services, and as a free gift, the island of Sardinia, to be his in full sovereignty, so soon as heresy should be extirpated in France." "For the King of Spain would never make so great a sacrifice, unless he could rest assured that it would not tend to the spiritual destruction of his poor subjects. And it therefore was necessary that a Prince, who till now had opened his house to every heretical preacher, should give earnest of his repentance, by some signal service rendered to the Church."

The beauty and fertility of the island of Sardinia were painted in the most glowing colours by the Legate. Maps and delusive descriptions of its rich productions were laid before Navarre; to his imagination it appeared an island of the Hesperides—a splendid remuneration for what he had lost—and his good faith and consistency soon yielded to the temptation. As a further inducement, directed at once to his ambition and to his softer passions, it was proposed that the Pope should dissolve his marriage with Jeanne, and depriving her of her dominions on the score of heresy, should confer them upon Navarre, who in her place was offered the hand of Mary Stuart, the loveliest and most accomplished woman in Europe, and with a kingdom for her dowry. This temptation, however, was resisted; and it is said, that the love borne by Anthony to his young and most promising son, and his reluctance

[1] Garnier.

to deprive him by such a step of his inheritance, saved the mother from destruction. A satirical poem of the time alludes to this affair, and gives a very just idea of the sort of reputation which Anthony of Navarre enjoyed :—

> Cependant par cautéle, et mille beaux portraits,
> Qu'on apporte à propos, on lui grave les traits,
> La grace, et la beauté de la reine d'Ecosse,
> Jeune, fraische, gentille, à fin que par la noce
> Faite d'elle et de lui puisse être converti
> A leur religion et tenir leur parti ;
> Ainsi ils abusent de sa nature aisée
> Pour leur servir un temps d'ombre, et puis de risée.[1]

Mary of Scotland was not refused out of any remaining inclination for his wife. Jeanne was earnest and uncompromising in her character ; and, it appears, had thought it necessary to adopt some of the ungraceful stiffness in small matters, which too often marks the sincere devotee. She wearied Anthony at present with representations made, it is said, with more zeal than gentleness, till, to cut the matter short, he ordered her to return to Navarre, leaving with him his son whom he designed to educate in the Catholic religion.

This stroke was infinitely painful to his Queen, and at her departure, says the Legate in his letters,[2] " she made a long and severe remonstrance to the Prince her son, to persuade him never to go to mass, on any account whatsoever,—saying, that if he disobeyed her in this she would disinherit him, and he need regard her no longer as his mother. This has not prevented the King of Navarre from retaining him, that he may be properly instructed in the doctrine of the Church."

Beza tells us, that upon Catherine endeavouring to persuade Jeanne to accommodate matters with her husband,

[1] Mém. de Castlenau. [2] Lettres du Card. Ferrara.

she replied, "That sooner than go to mass, if she had her kingdom in one hand and her son in the other, she would throw them into the depths of the sea, *pour ne lui en estre empeschement.*"

After her departure Henry was placed under the care of a rigid Catholic.

These variations in his religious education may possibly have been of infinite service to France, by preserving her future master from that narrow sectarian spirit which may justly be considered as the most dangerous error which can attend the religion of Kings; who ought to regard all their subjects with a *true* Catholic spirit, looking upon all, of every persuasion, with an equal eye, so long as their loyalty to the state and their adherence to the rules of good living are equal.

The secession of the King of Navarre was soon made public; he took the first occasion to quarrel with the Queen-Mother, retired from Court, broke with all his Protestant connexions, and took up his residence at Paris.[1]

The following passage from Castlenau paints the tranquillising effects of the edict of peace, and the disastrous changes occasioned by that defection which rendered it ineffectual. "The Edict," says he, "was verified and at length published in the Parliaments. Then the ministers of religion began to preach more boldly, here and there—some in the fields, others in gardens, openly in every place whithersoever affection or passion led them, or where they could find shelter, as in old ruined buildings, or even barns;[2] being forbidden to build temples, or

[1] Mém. de Castlenau.

[2] These representations of the author are coloured by his prejudices; though a man of great fairness, he is still a Catholic. He forgets to tell us that the principal Protestant ministers and deputies addressed circulars to the churches, recommending certain rules and regulations in consequence of the Edict,—rules equally wise and reasonable. By them the Calvinists were recommended to conform implicitly to the Edict, and restore to the Catholics

establish any manner of church. The people curious of novelties, flocked from all parts, as well Catholics as Protestants; some to see the methods (*façons*) of this new doctrine, some to know and mark those who were of the Reformed religion."

"They discoursed in French, quoting no Latin and few texts of scripture; preaching ordinarily against those abuses of the Church which no prudent Catholic could defend—often they proceeded to invectives. And after their sermons, they prayed and sang psalms in the French rhythm, (*rythme François*) with music and numerous good voices, by which many were much edified, so that the number increased every day. Much was there spoken of the correction of abuses, of giving alms, and things similar—fair in appearance, so that many Catholics ranged themselves with this party; and it is to be believed that had the ministers been more grave and learned, and of a better life for the most part, they would have had more followers. But they would administer the sacrament after a fashion of their own, without preserving that modesty which many Protestants, such as those of Germany and England, preserve, who have their Bishops, Primates, Deacons, &c., who retain the surplice and ornaments of the Catholic church with long robes; which makes them more esteemed than the Protestants of France, Geneva, and Scotland, who, covering their passions with a pretext of religion, have fallen foul on matters no ways injurious.

"And now, either led by the force of example, imitation, or the desire of improvement, the Bishops, Doctors,

all of which they might at any time have deprived them, and never to go armed to their prayer-meetings. The circular and a protocol to this effect are preserved in the Mémoires de Condé; see also Beza. It is certain there had been some seizures of churches and cloisters; but upon the publication of the Edict of January they were all restored.

Curés, Friars, and other Catholic pastors, began to consider well the methods of these new preachers—so desirous and ardent to advance their religion—and thence began to take more care to watch their own flocks, and attend to the duties of their charge. Some, in emulation of the Protestant ministers, began to study in the holy writings, (*és saintes lettres*) and fearing the said ministers would have the advantage over them by their frequent preachings, they began also to preach more often than had been customary, advising their auditors to beware of heresies, and warning them that nothing is more dangerous in a republic than novelties in religion, &c.

"But when the Catholics were advertised that the King of Navarre had been detached from the Protestant party, and was now rather adverse than favourable to them, (having united with those of Guise, the Constable, and the Maréchal de St. André,) they began to be bolder than before: for the report of this confederation becoming public, the Catholics began to insult the Protestants with disdainful words; and seeing them come out of the towns to go into the fauxbourgs and villages where their preachings were held, and return wet and dirty, they laughed at them; and the women were not exempt from scandalous tales, as whether they went moved by religion, or to meet their friends and lovers, and so forth. And if any dispute arose about matters of religion, suddenly it was accompanied by words of rage and contempt; and from thence they came to blows, and the Protestants were often beaten, being in less numbers than the Catholics; and had it not been for the fear of the magistrate, it would have been yet worse, for the Catholics could not endure their preachings and assemblies."[1]

Nevertheless the ministers continued to preach, and

[1] Mém. de Castlenau.

the Protestants to attend in great numbers, in spite of those disorders which took place in many towns of the kingdom. At Cahors, Sens, Amiens, Troyes, Abbeville, Toulouse, Marseilles, and Tours, there were great disorders, and many of the Reformed were massacred.

Such were the outrages committed by the lower classes of the Catholic party. But the spirit of insubordination displayed by the higher—and of encroaching interference on the part of Spain, were still more significant, and showed that the hour was now approaching when civil restraints and obligations would be alike discarded, and the royal authority itself prove ineffectual to avert that struggle for unjust supremacy on the one hand, and for very existence upon the other, which it was evident must speedily divide the nation.

The attack began in the Council of Government, and was made by the Spaniard, his intention being to separate the Queen from her Protestant friends and councillors, and to drive from the cabinet men who, in advocating the cause of liberty of conscience, maintained that not less important one, of national independence.

The King of Navarre was therefore given to understand that as the first test of his sincerity it was expected upon the part of Spain that he should contribute to drive those "*pestes*," the Chatillons, from Court; and when his agents represented that such a thing was impossible, for that even his dignity as first Prince of the blood, and Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, in no manner entitled him to exclude any one from the Council, the Duke of Alva angrily asked how he could then pretend to a recompense if he were incapable of so slight a service. It was at length agreed that the Spanish ambassador should himself demand the dismissal of the obnoxious noblemen before the assembled Council, and be seconded by all the Catholics

present. The Queen was secretly apprised of the intended measure; and Coligny, but too well aware of what might be expected from her timidity and irresolution, chose to save her honour and that of his country by a timely retreat. Under pretence of urgent private business, he demanded and obtained permission to retire to his estates; and the last of his long train of baggage mules was quitting St. Germains as the equipage of the Spanish ambassador entered by an opposite gate. His prudence, however, did not save Catherine from the ignominy of the request, or rather command. She felt the humiliation bitterly, and replied with unusual spirit, "That it appeared to have been forgotten in Spain that her son and herself were answerable to no one for their actions; and that her character must have been strangely blackened in the eyes of her son-in-law before he would have hazarded a step so contrary to his usual conduct with regard to her: that the Admiral and the Seigneur D'Andelot were absent on their private affairs, and that the Cardinal de Chatillon had retired to his diocese in obedience to her express desire that bishops as well as governors should in these unquiet times betake themselves to their respective charges."

It was true that Catherine had, before this, made an effort to break up the Catholic confederacy, by obliging the most influential members of it, more especially the Cardinal de Tournon, and the Maréchal de St. André, to retire on the above pretence to their provinces. The Cardinal de Tournon had submitted in silence, but the Maréchal de St. André taught her, upon this occasion, what species of obedience was henceforward to be expected by the King from his most loyal Catholic subjects. He replied, that the law of residence, good in itself, must, like other regulations, become subservient to circumstances—that in his

opinion the attitude of the capital from which the Court was but a few leagues removed, was more menacing than that of any other city in the kingdom—that the shock which a collision between the multitudes of both persuasions there assembled must occasion would be terrible—and that he thought the Queen at such a moment would do better by assembling the friends of the King around his person than by scattering them all over his dominions. Stung to the quick by this insolent reply, Catherine gave way to the most violent reproaches. St. André answered coldly that he had not to learn that his presence was highly unacceptable but that he was bound to her children by a solemn oath made to their father of glorious memory—who having, among numerous favours, invested him with the office of Grand Chamberlain, had exacted from him a promise, that he would never either relinquish this office, nor abandon his family—that death alone therefore should divide him from the person of the King. If the Queen, however, disapproved of the manner in which his Lieutenants administered the affairs of his province, she had only to dispose of his government elsewhere.

An order being likewise dispatched to the Duke de Guise to repair to his government of Dauphiné, met, if possible, with a more contemptuous refusal. He received it at Saverne, on the borders of Lorraine, where he had gone upon his retreat from Court. Here he had been occupied in negotiating large levies of mercenaries with the German Princes on his own account, and also in endeavouring to destroy the relations held by the Prince de Condé with those courts, and thus deprive him of that countenance and assistance he had reason to expect from the German Protestant powers—more especially from the Duke of Wirtemberg—in the event of being driven by necessity to arms. This he had endeavoured to effect, by inflaming those

jealousies which already subsisted between the Lutherans and the followers of Calvin, and in this he was well seconded by the Cardinal de Lorraine. The prelate strove to persuade the Duke of Wirtemberg, that he was himself far from opposing religious reform, being ardently desirous that abuses should be done away, and the system amended;[1]—and that his object was solely to resist the monstrous errors of Calvin and Zwingle, by which proceeding he not only served God, but all reigning Princes, the tranquillity of whose estates was endangered by the pernicious political opinions of these sectaries. "In fine, he yielded so many points, and approached so near Lutheranism, that Brennius, one of the most eminent of the Wirtemberg divines, did not scruple to attend one of his sermons; and the Duke promised to send an ambassador and some theologians, if not to Trent, where the Council was at length re-opened, at least to some neighbouring town, whence deputies from that Council might be sent to confer with them." The result of these intrigues was such as they intended, and occasioned, on the part of the German Protestant Princes, so great a coldness for the cause of their brethren in France, that Condé found himself, when the struggle began, almost entirely without support from that quarter.

The brothers of Lorraine were thus occupied when the commands issued by the Queen to the Duke, directing him to retire to his government, were contradicted by a letter from Navarre, demanding his friendship, and ordering him on the obedience due to himself, as Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, immediately to call together his *compagnies d'ordonnance* and as many friends as he could assemble, and march without delay for Paris to defend the Catholic religion. The Duke hesitated not a moment which party

[1] De Thou.

to obey—he quitted Saverne, passed two or three days at Joinville, with his mother Antoinette de Bourbon, and then with his wife and children prepared to set forward for the capital.

The crisis rapidly approached, and the Queen, driven to extremity, turned her eyes as a last refuge upon the Prince de Condé.

It is not to be supposed that a spirit, active and intelligent as his, had been insensible to the signs of the gathering storm, or negligent of the means for prudent preparation. To defend the Edict of January to the last extremity—an Edict obtained with so much difficulty—founded upon the plainest principles of justice—and necessary to the very existence of his friends, his religion, and himself, was the determination of this brave and high spirited man—and they must deny the right of resistence, even in the extremest case, who blame the generous resolution. But Condé, though subsequent events have weakened the force of this justification, had a plea to urge, in the eyes of many, yet more unquestionable, namely, the duty of defending the legal and established government, against the tyranny of a violent and unprincipled faction. To him Catherine had appealed in her distress—and there cannot be a doubt, however much his taking up arms was afterwards qualified as rebellion—that it was done at first at her suggestion, and for the King's defence. The Prince had for the last few months resided almost entirely in Paris, and anticipating the result of late events, had been busily occupied in strengthening his party, and endeavouring to establish for it a secure footing in the capital—for this purpose, he had excited the ministers to make every effort for the diffusion of the Reformed opinions, had been circulating tracts and catechisms, attending conventicles, &c. And, latterly, as the aspect

of affairs darkened, he had encouraged the people to attend their assemblies armed; and, evading that clause of the Edict which forbade collections of money for any purposes save those of charity, had engaged his friends to double and treble their contributions, though still under that pretence. The money thus obtained was spent partly in the purchase of those works of Calvin, which were adapted for circulation among the lower orders, and partly in furnishing with arms such members of the University and bourgeoisie as were without. "Part," says Garnier, who does not like him, "in subsisting vagabonds and unknown people, who served to fill their assemblies, and were ready for any business upon which he chose to employ them."

Catholic historians stigmatize such precautions as factious and rebellious preparations; yet it is admitted by all, that the hope, as well as desire of the Prince and of the Admiral, had been, and still was, to carry out and to maintain, without effusion of blood, those great changes which the state of the country demanded. They trusted by presenting an imposing attitude to overawe the capital into tranquillity, which example would have preserved the peace of the provinces, but the unprincipled defection of Navarre confounded all their calculations, and the Prince de Condé had the mortification to discover how baseless were the hopes he had entertained.

No sooner was this base defection publicly made known than the example was followed by multitudes of those whom fashion or interest had attached to the party of Anthony. The crowds that by thousands had attended the Reformed assemblies disappeared — the ministers preached to empty benches, whilst the vast population of Paris, no longer repressed by the strong hand of authority, seemed ready at the first signal to burst into

the most violent disorders. Condé found himself surrounded by enemies, with a train amounting at most to but 400 gentlemen, supported by 400 of the old French Infantry, brought him by D'Andelot. To these might be added 300 of the young and petulant students of the University, and 300 or 400 at most of the bourgeoisie, the greater part unarmed. Yet was the Prince resolved to dispute the ground foot by foot, and inch by inch with his adversary. He knew that though weak in Paris, he was strong in the provinces; he was in possession of exact reports of the force that could be collected, whether in men or money, by 2,500 churches; and there was scarcely a city in the kingdom where the relative force of his party did not exceed that in the capital. As soon, therefore, as he received the intelligence of the return of the Duke de Guise, he took measures to maintain his position if possible, and sent orders for a body of from 5,000 to 6,000 men to march up and reinforce him from the churches of Picardy and Champagne.

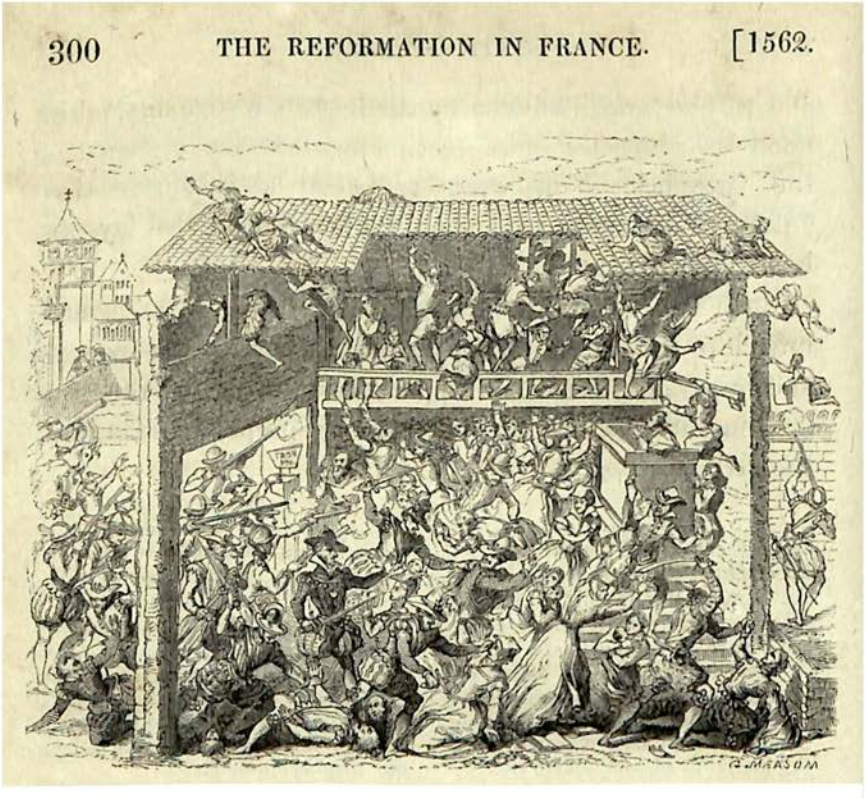
They arrived in small parties, and were concealed in various parts of the town, and at the same time a secret petition was presented from the members of the Reformed church to the Queen, praying to be allowed to resume their arms to defend themselves against a seditious and insolent populace. On the other hand, the municipality on the part of the Catholics, informed her that a report was current through the city, that the Hugonots were plotting for the destruction of the town, and supplicated to be allowed to arm. The Queen refused both petitions; but, aware that the fatal moment was rapidly approaching, she quitted St. Germains, and in order to convey the King somewhat further from the scene of the conflict, retired to Monceaux. She took the King of Navarre with her, alluring him by the charms of one of her ladies;

and was accompanied also by the Legate, whom she looked upon as a species of protection against the violence of the Catholics. Thus Paris remained a prize for that enterprising leader who should first venture to lay his hand upon the prey.

Such was the state of affairs when a most audacious breach of the public peace, committed under the eyes of, and apparently with the approbation of one of the first men in the kingdom, lighted the long prepared train, and the civil war began.[1]

[1] The Massacre of Vassi has been called the cause of the civil war: it was perhaps the spark which lighted the flame. But in this, as in most great public evils, many causes must have contributed, and lain as it were in preparation, before one mistake could have occasioned so great a mischief. The firebrand expires, which does not fall where the materials of combustion lie.

Nevertheless it is certain that Beza, in his detail of the affairs of the churches in the several towns during this time, almost invariably describes both parties as gradually learning to become reconciled to each other, and the Catholics as submitting to the Edict of January, until the outrage of Vassi gave them courage to break out into acts of riot and insubordination.



## CHAPTER VI.

MASSACRE OF VASSI.—CONDE ABANDONS PARIS.—LETTERS OF THE QUEEN.—TRIUMVIRS CARRY THE KING TO THE CAPITAL.

On Sunday the 1st of March 1562, the Duke de Guise, attended by his family and by the Cardinal de Guise, left Joinville for Paris. It appears that during his stay at Joinville, his mother Antoinette de Bourbon, had complained of the insolence of the Hugonots, who presumed to hold their preachings at Vassi, close upon the gates of her castle.[1] "The Duke began to mutter," says the historian, "*et à s'animer dans son courage, mordant sa barbe;*"[2] as was his custom when he was angry, and "such were the dispositions," says De Thou, whose account has been

[1] Relation dans les Mémoires de Condé.

[2] Biting his lips.

chiefly followed, " which seemed to prepare the miserable event that ensued."

The route of the Duke unfortunately lay through Vassi, where he arrived early in the morning, followed by his numerous and splendid train. His design, if design he had, appears to have been to disperse the Hugonots if assembled, but not to offer violence to any person in particular. As he entered the town he heard a bell ringing, and asking what that was for, he was answered, it was to call the Protestants to meeting. Upon that a loud and confused cry of joy was heard among the crowd of valets, lackeys, and other attendants travelling with him. " It seemed like the cry of a body of military adventurers rejoicing in the prospect of plunder."[1] As the Duke proceeded, he was met by some of the principal officers of the place, who to prevent disturbance begged of him to pass the building where the assembly was being held, without stopping; but while he was in discourse with them, several of his people had approached the meeting-house, (it was a barn which the Hugonots had purchased, and might hold about 1200 people,) and had begun to abuse those assembled, " calling them dogs and rebels to God and to the King." High words were returned by the Hugonots, and the affray began. A shower of stones was thrown by the Duke's servants, who soon tore down the door of the chapel, and rushing furiously in, sword in hand, fell upon the assembled multitude, striking down and massacring all they met. A dreadful confusion ensued. The women and children rent the air with their shrieks and cries, vainly endeavouring to escape, the men called loudly for help. A few only put themselves on their defence, for they were all, in obedience to the edict, unarmed. The tumult was so great that the noise reached the Duchess de Guise who travelling in her litter was a short distance in

[1] De Thou.

advance of the rest; and she instantly dispatched an express to her husband to entreat him to spare innocent blood. Her messenger found the Duke standing at the door of the barn, endeavouring, some say, to allay the disorder, but at the moment a stone unfortunately struck him on the face; and his people seeing the blood stream from his mouth, and glad of an excuse for further violence, now set no bounds to their fury. In spite of his prayers and menaces, the carnage was horrible, the rage of the murderers being only appeased when not a creature remained in the chapel.—Sixty were left dead upon the spot and more than two hundred wounded or made prisoners.[1] The interior of the chapel was entirely defaced, and even several houses in the neighbourhood were torn down. "Though," continues De Thou, "all this had passed without design on the part of the Duke, yet had he several of the prisoners brought before him, and reprimanded them severely for having occasioned a tumult by their seditious assemblies;" they alleged in their defence the Edict of January. "Detestable Edict," cried the Duke, putting his hand to his sword, "*this* shall break it."[2] He was not, however, so indifferent to public opinion as to neglect to furnish himself with the materials for his justification, and he ordered evidence to be collected on the spot, with design to prove that the disturbance had originated with the Protestants.

A curious anecdote connected with this tragedy is preserved by Beza.[3] "While they were pillaging and defacing

[1] D'Aubigné makes the number of dead amount to 300, and adds "the priests were diligent to point out to the soldiers those who were escaping over the roofs." Beza assures us that the part taken by the Duke de Guise was very different from the one assigned him by De Thou. — "Déslors la porte étant forcée, la tuerie commença frappant ces tigres et lions plus qu'enragés au travers de ces pauvres brebis, qui ne faisaient aucun résistance y etant le Duc de Guise l'epée nue, avec l'ainée La Brosse, lieutenant de sa compagnie." The old print from Montfaucon represents him as stabbing a woman.

[2] Davila, Guerre Civile di Francia.

[3] Beza, Hist. des Eglises.

the chapel, a large Bible used in the service, was brought to the Duke; he, holding it in his hands, calling to his brother the Cardinal of Guise, says, 'Here, brother, look at the title of one of these cursed Hugonot books.'—'There is not much harm in that,' says the Cardinal, looking at it, 'for it is the Bible of the Holy Scriptures.' The Duke, confused at this, fell into a greater rage than before; '*Comment sang Dieu la Sainte Ecriture!* the Holy Scripture! It is fifteen hundred years since Jesus Christ suffered death and passion, and but one since this book has been printed.—Do you call it the Gospel? *Par la mort Dieu tout n'en vaut rien.*' This extreme fury displeased the Cardinal, who was heard to say, 'My brother is in the wrong.' While the Duke paced the barn, plucking his beard, *pour toute contenance.*"

Whether this massacre were premeditated or not remains a disputed point. The truth appears to be, that though to put down the Edict of January, and with it the public exercise of the Reformed religion was the express purpose of the Duke in coming to Paris; yet, that he was as far from planning, as from desiring, an outrage violent as this.[1] It is certain that he constantly disavowed it to his most intimate friends, and persisted in declaring his innocence on his death-bed. "At his death," says Brantôme, "he made confession concerning this massacre, praying God to have no mercy on his soul if he were the author of it, *making light of the matter, it is true.* Yet, because blood had been shed, he confessed himself to God and asked his pardon, for I heard him."[2]

[1] Mém. de Castlenau.

[2] Davila agrees with De Thou. He acquits the Duke of all design, and affirms that the first stones were thrown by the Hugonots. On the other hand, Tavannes, who had a different opinion concerning massacres; inasmuch as he thought the Massacre of St. Bartholomew no subject for confession or repentance, uses this expression,—that the Duke marching to Paris to join the King of Navarre, in order to put down the Edict of January, "commence par Vassi où il arrive à l'heure de presche."—Mém. de Tavannes.

Designed or not, this daring infraction of the Edict occurring so near Paris, and under the eyes of one of the principal men in the kingdom, produced the most disastrous effects.[1] It served immediately as a signal in innumerable places for the populace to renew the ancient disorders and barbarities. "*Cette licence,*" says D'Aubigné, "*donna le bransle à Cahors, à Sens, à Auxerre, à Tours.*" In these towns from a thousand to twelve hundred persons were put to death with circumstances of atrocious cruelty by the mob, instigated in most places by their priests. At Tours three hundred being shut up in the church for three days, were afterwards carried to slaughter "on the bank of the river, and there butchered in different ways; little children being sold for a crown." A woman of exquisite beauty having moved even her murderer to compassion, another undertook her, and to shew his resolution, "took a pleasure in seeing this flower of beauty fade away under his blows."[2] A young infant born upon the spot, was, we are told, thrown into the river with its unfortunate mother, and even these monsters shuddered as the innocent being floated down the stream, "raising its right arm on high, as if invoking vengeance from heaven."[3] It is unnecessary to enter into a repetition of the horrors which ensued in other places—"*Tous marqués d'insignes*

[1] D'Aubigné, Hist. Univers.

[2] The Catholics in Paris shewed the most indecent exultation upon this occasion; their preachers, says Castlenau, maintaining that it was no cruelty; the thing having arisen through zeal for the Catholic religion; alleging the example of Moses, who commanded the people of God to kill the idolators of the golden calf. But thus in bitter and melancholy resentment Beza speaks of it. —"S'ensuivent les noms de ceux qu'on a pu remarquer, tant des tués que des blessés, dont les uns moururent sur le champ, les autres, après avoir langui quelque temps. Plusieurs sont demeurés impotens outre ceux desquels on n'a pu savoir les noms. Et avons bien voulu conter ici expressément les personnes, tant pour montrer la vérité du fait, que pour mieux manifester l'iniquité de l'arrêt donné depuis à Paris contre ces pauvres gens; et si c'est sans occasion que ceux de la religion prirent les armes défensives contre une telle et intolérable tyrannie de ceux de Guise.—Hist. des Eglises.

[3] This massacre with all its circumstances is represented in a print in Montfaucon.

*autês*"—D'Aurillac, Nemours, &c.[1] A distinction must be made between these and succeeding massacres, adds the historian, "for these first occasioned the taking up of arms; and this taking up of arms occasioned innumerable other massacres."

All these atrocities, however, united, seem to have occasioned less sensation than did the massacre of Vassi. Those were probably regarded as the effects of popular animosity, but this was looked upon as an act of premeditation, and had been committed under the eyes of one of the first men of the kingdom. The Protestants were thunder-struck—their pulpits rang with invectives —the action was stigmatised as one of unprecedented cruelty, and the Duke de Guise execrated as a second Herod. The Catholics, on the other hand, manifested the most indecent and extravagant exultation.

Beza and Francour were commissioned by the churches to carry their complaints to the Council of Government, at that time with the King at Monceaux.[2] They represented the horror of this, and the consequent massacres, wherein no less than 3000 persons had perished, "poignarded, stoned, beheaded, strangled, burned, starved to death, buried alive, drowned, suffocated," while the Council at the dreadful recital remained for some moments silent with dismay and commiseration. The King of Navarre alone attempted to defend what had been done, as necessary and right; and Beza persisting in his complaints and petitions for justice, he began to excuse the massacre of Vassi, by saying, that the tumult originated in the Protestants throwing stones at the Duke de Guise,—adding, "Princes were not made to have stones thrown at them with impunity."[3] Beza replied, "If the

[1] D'Aubigné, Histoire Universelle.

[2] Mém. de Castlenau, additions of Le Laboureur.

[3] Hist. des Eglises, by Beza.

fact were so, the Duke in his own justification ought to point out the authors of the outrage," and added, "It is in truth, Sire, becoming the Church of God, in whose name I speak, to receive—and not to return, blows. Yet your Majesty may be pleased to remember that it is an anvil which has worn out many hammers: '*c'est une enclume qui a usée beaucoup de marteaux.*'"

No sooner did the news of this massacre reach the Prince de Condé at Paris, "than regarding this little storm as the sure presage of a greater,"[1] he began to make serious preparations for defence; and, in concert with the gentlemen around him, he determined to lose no time in arousing his friends, and warning the churches of their approaching danger. "The most part of which, reposing upon the public faith, had lately been more intent upon establishing the exercise of their religion, than upon providing the means for its defence."[2] This intelligence, however, adds La Noue, "marvellously excited those among the provincial noblesse who belonged to the Religion. They speedily prepared their arms and horses, and continued anxiously watching the turn affairs would take."[3]

The Duke de Guise had not immediately proceeded to the capital; he had turned aside to Nanteuil, one of his country seats, where he had been joined by the Constable and the Maréchal de St. André. Condé gave instant notice to the Queen of this portentous re-union; upon which she, making one expiring effort to avert the approaching disasters, wrote to Guise desiring his immediate presence at Monceaux—attended at most by only twelve gentlemen—while the King of Navarre, at her express desire, dispatched orders to the Duke to lay down his arms. But Guise was not so easily to be diverted from the design he meditated. He excused himself from attending upon

[1] Mémoires de La Noue. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

the King under the plea of being engaged at that moment in entertaining his friends at home; and aware that absolute disobedience to a command so positive could be held only as tantamount to a declaration of war, he resolved without more delay to join his friends; he assembled, therefore, a troop of between twelve and fifteen hundred gentlemen, and accompanied by Montmorenci and St. André, quitted Nanteuil and reached Paris on the 26th of March, 1562.

The Duke made his entrance by the Porte St. Denis[1]—a gate long appropriated to royal processions—followed by a train which might have done honour to the magnificent days of Francis the First or his son. On his right hand rode the Constable, on his left the Maréchal de St. André—1200 gentlemen on horseback, the flower of the Catholic nobility, followed. He was received by the Prévôt des Marchands,[2] and other public authorities, with much pomp; the streets being crowded with the common people, who welcomed him with the loudest acclamations—they hung upon his horse, they kissed his clothes, while the air rang with the cry of *Vive Guise défenseur de la foi!* Arrived at his hotel, a deputation from the municipality waited upon him to express their satisfaction at his return, and to offer him any sum of money which he might need for the defence of religion. The Duke, who made a show of the greatest moderation, replied, that such offers ought to be made to the King of Navarre. For himself, he was but a simple soldier, come by that King's command to serve the state in any manner in which he might be pleased to employ him:—he even went so far the next morning as to dispatch a complimentary message to the Prince de Condé with the offer of his services—the full value of which civility Condé was at no loss to understand.

[1] Lacretelle.

[2] Lettres de Pasquier.

And now Paris presented the singular and alarming spectacle of two rival chiefs in one city, surrounded by armed and hostile followers—each resolved to maintain his position, though each apparently afraid to begin the contest for supremacy—and of two separate Councils of Government, composed of the leading men of either party, and each claiming to be the one alone legitimate. That to which the Prince de Condé adhered, met at the apartments of the Chancellor, and was attended by the Bishop of Valence, the Cardinal de Chatillon, and Madame de Crussol, an ardent Hugonot, and confidante of the Queen-Mother. The other, which assembled at the Constable's hotel, was attended by the Duke de Guise, his brothers, the Cardinal de Guise, the Duke d'Aumale, and the Maréchals St. André, Brissac, and Termes. To attend these councils, the Prince de Condé might be seen traversing the streets followed by three or four hundred Hugonot gentlemen; while Guise never moved but surrounded by a multitude of the lower orders, ready at the first signal for every species of violence. Upon one occasion a collision seemed inevitable. Passing through the Rue Grenelle St. Honoré the rivals suddenly encountered—Condé attended by his usual train, the Duke followed by an immense crowd, whose cries rent the air. The danger to Condé was imminent; a sign from the Duke, and he, with his followers, must have been torn to pieces by the multitude, and so the quarrel have been terminated. The Prince was well aware of his danger, but with his usual high spirit, refused to give ground an inch. The two parties watched the movements of their chiefs,—but the magnanimity of Guise upon this occasion saved his rival. The Duke restrained his followers; saluted the Prince with respect, who returned the courtesy,—and the day ended in tranquillity.

It was impossible that things should long continue in this situation. Of this every one was aware; but the remedy was difficult to find. Catherine, in her alarm and perplexity, was for some time uncertain what course to pursue. At length she dispatched the Cardinal de Bourbon to supersede the Maréchal de Montmorenci as Governor of Paris, hoping that his connexion with both parties might enable him to effect something like an accommodation.[1] Soon afterwards she entreated the King of Navarre to follow, in order to add weight to the Cardinal's authority. But this last measure was the most ill advised that she could have by possibility adopted. Immediately upon his arrival in their neighbourhood he united himself with the Triumvirs, and thus decided the contest in their favour. The Queen was soon aware of the false step she had taken, and, to remove farther from the scene of contention, carried the King to Fontainbleau.

Navarre arrived in Paris in any character rather than that of a moderator between the parties. He came on Palm Sunday, in time to manifest his adherence to the Catholic faction, by joining the religious processions of that day, and thus disappoint any hopes his brother might have entertained of his support. The Duke de Guise, however, was in some danger at this ceremony. Certain gentlemen of high rank, as we are told, among the Hugonots, did not think it inconsistent with their honour to offer to seize this occasion *to do justice on the butcher of Vassi*, provided the Church would sanction the enterprise.[2] But the ministers absolutely refused to listen to any such proposal, and exhorted them to wait in patience for that justice which had been promised.

[1] The Maréchal de Montmorenci found it impossible to determine upon any decided course of action: his principles forbade him to support the one—while his filial piety rendered it impossible for him openly to maintain the other. He was not a man of sufficient decision for the occasion.

[2] Garnier, Hist. de France.

The first step taken by the Cardinal de Bourbon had been to command the rival Princes immediately to quit the capital—a command equally disregarded by both. When Navarre, however, arrived, every effort was made to dislodge Condé and secure the field to his antagonist. A proclamation was accordingly issued, commanding all, not domiciliated in the town, immediately to leave it. The followers of Condé, being mostly from the provinces, were alarmed at this proclamation, and began speedily to disperse, while the Prince was given to understand that any who might still remain would be arrested. He found himself, therefore, constrained to give way, and most unwillingly to abandon the hope of reaping any fruit from his long exertions. "Champing the bit," and complaining bitterly of the Admiral, who had failed to support him at this critical moment, he retired to Meaux, whence he wrote to Coligny, "*que faute de courage ne l'avoit contraint d'abandonner Paris, mais faute de forces.*"[1] He conjured him to join him without delay with such troops as he could collect—for, added he, "*César a passé le Rubicon, a saisi Rome, et les étendards commencent déjà à bransler par la campagne.*"[2]

[1] That not want of courage, but want of support had constrained him to abandon Paris.

[2] Cæsar has passed the Rubicon, has seized upon Rome, and his standards are already waving in the field. —Beza gives a somewhat different account of these transactions. He complains that the rich members of the Church at Paris were so backward in their contributions, that the Prince was greatly in want of money —that Condé made every exertion, in vain sending courier on courier to the Admiral, to beseech him to join him in Paris—but after all represents the Prince as abandoning the city before it was necessary — "Pour revenir au Prince," he adds, "ayant fait entendre au Cardinal de Bourbon, son frère envoyé de nouveau pour Gouverneur en la ville de Paris, que si le Duc de Guise, pour laisser la ville hors de soupçon de toute émeute, sortait par une porte il se retirerait aussi par l'autre: sur cette délibération il départit de Paris en la compagnie de 900 à 1,000 chevaux. Il se rendit à Meaux le lendemain, où arriva aussi L'Amiral et tôt après D'Andelot, avec bonne troupe de gentilshommes, bien marris de n'avoir pu joindre le Prince dans Paris, d'autant que le Prince ne fût pas plustôt sorti, que bonnes et fortes gardes furent mises aux portes—avec plusieurs compagnies levées dans la ville."—Beza Hist. des Eglises.

Condé thus compares himself to Pompey, when quitting Rome he abandoned the field to Cæsar. His departure from Paris was by many considered as a step equally fatal with that taken by the Roman general. But La Noue defends the Prince on the score of the utter impossibility of maintaining his ground. He tells us that, after the defection of Navarre, most of those who had appeared to favour the party of the Protestants fell away, while the strength and audacity of the confederates had increased in proportion: he enumerates those powerful bodies who, in Paris, might be considered as devoted to the Triumvirs—the judicial, with scarcely an exception—the clergy, as a matter of course —the municipal, dreading change—the higher members of the university, and the whole of the populace. To meet this host of adversaries, Condé could muster at most but 300 gentlemen his friends, 400 students of the University, and a small portion of the bourgeoisie, entirely unaccustomed to arms. "What were these against such an infinity of people? *sinon un petit mouche contre un éléphant.* I think the novices and lay-brothers of the convents alone, with bludgeons and cudgels, could have held them in check. They made, however, a good stand in spite of their weakness, till the arrival of the Lords and Princes of the league constrained them to throw up the game. It was, doubtless, a high and generous design, to endeavour to establish the gospel in Paris, but with such a poverty of means it was impossible."[1]

The Admiral had, during the last month, remained at Chatillon,[2] plunged in the profoundest melancholy, and avoiding the sight of every human being—sadly reflecting upon the disappointment of all his hopes, and upon the

[1] Mémoires de La Noue.

[2] Garnier and D'Aubigné.

horrors of that civil war which he had vainly endeavoured to avert. He still continued, however, earnestly to deprecate an open rupture, and flattered himself that it might yet be avoided. At Chatillon were assembled his brothers, with Genlis, Briquemaud, and several of the leading Protestant gentlemen, who vainly endeavoured to vanquish his reluctance to taking any decisive step, by representing the dishonour of deserting the Prince, and the crime of permitting the massacre of so many innocents who looked up to him for protection. But the crime and the dishonour of bringing down upon these unhappy victims the miseries which would ultimately attend upon an ineffectual resistance, were for ever present to his mind. He demanded, what he, and his small number of friends could effect in Paris, except, indeed, to hasten the bloody catastrophe? Where were their arsenals? their ammunition? their resources? Could war be carried on without means? Should they not rather wait in patience for better times, under such shelter as the laws afforded, and resting upon the public faith, than justify persecution by having recourse to violence.[1] The wife of the Admiral [2] was present at these discussions, and at the conclusion of one evening when they had retired to their chamber "This notable Seigneur," says D'Aubigné, "two hours after he had bade his wife good night was awakened by her heavy sighs and sobs—he, asking the cause, she at length thus spoke—'It is with great regret, Sir, that I trouble your repose by my anxieties, but seeing the members of Christ thus cruelly torn in pieces, shall we who are of his body remain insensible?—You, yourself, Sir, feel these things with equal sensibility, though nature has given you the strength to conceal it—but blame not your

[1] D'Aubigné, Histoire Universelle.

[2] D'Aubigné—who says he gives this relation, not as a fabulous ornament, "mais comme une histoire que j'ai apprise de ceux qui estoient de la partie—but as a fact that I have been told by the very persons concerned."

faithful wife, if with more confidence than respect, she pours the flood of her tears and sorrows into your bosom. Here we repose peacefully and securely, while our brothers are lying some in dungeons—some in the bare fields exposed to the mercy of the elements—some expiring under the most cruel tortures. This bed is to me a tomb, while they have no tomb—these hangings reproach me while they lie uncovered upon the earth. Shall I sleep quietly, while my brothers are sinking round me, closing their eyes in the sleep of death?—I do well remember all those excellent reasons with which you have stopped your brothers' mouths; but would you deprive them, too, of heart and hope, and leave them without courage as without reply? Alas! such prudence is but the prudence of this world—such wisdom towards men is not wisdom towards God. He bestowed upon you Sir, the genius of a great captain—will you refuse the use of it to his children?—You have confessed to the justice of their cause.—Is not the knightly sword you bear pledged to the defence of the oppressed? Sir, my heart bleeds for our slaughtered brethren—and their blood cries to God and heaven against you, as the murderer of those it might have been in your power to have saved."

"Since," replied the Admiral, "the reasons which I have this evening alleged against an ineffectual resistance have made so little impression upon your mind, lay your hand upon your heart and answer me this question. Could you, without murmuring against providence and the husband to whom heaven has united you, receive the news of a general defeat? Are you prepared to endure the opprobrium of your enemies—the reproaches of your friends—the treachery of partisans, the curses of the people—confiscation, flight, exile—the insolence of the English—the quarrels of the Germans—shame, nakedness, hunger,

and what is worse, to suffer all this in your children? Are you prepared to see your husband branded as a rebel, and dragged to a scaffold; while your children, disgraced and ruined, are begging their bread at the hands of their enemies? I give you eight days to reflect upon it; and when you shall be well prepared for such reverses, I will be ready to set forward, and perish with you and our mutual friends."

"The eight days are already expired!" she cried, "Go, Sir, where your duty calls you. Heaven will not give the victory to our enemies. In the name of God, I call upon you to resist no longer, but to save our brethren, or die in the attempt." The Admiral mounted his horse the next morning, took the road to Meaux, and joined with his followers the party of the Prince.

He found him perplexed what measures to adopt—surrounded by gentlemen, violent in debate and divided in opinion—all loud in their condemnation of the abandonment of Paris, and giving him already a foretaste of the rewards of his generous patriotism.

Paris lost, it is obvious their next object ought to have been to secure the person of the King, and thus preserve to their party the inestimable advantage of ranging on the side of legitimate government—while to their adversaries would have attached the stigma of rebellion. The occasion was favourable. The Queen had for some time resolved to throw herself into the arms of their party, as the only means of preserving the power fast escaping from her hands, and she had kept up a constant, friendly communication with Condé.

Fontainbleau, to which place she had retired, was an open town, where Condé could easily come to her assistance, and she had written to him in urgent terms, conjuring him to save *the mother and the son.*[1] Of these letters,

[1] Beza, Hist. Mém. Condé.

which Condé carefully preserved for his own justification, four have been handed down to us, and are as follows:—[1]

MON COUSIN, [1.]

The Baron de la Garde has repeated to me what you said to him, *dont, mon cousin, j'ai esté et suis si asseurée que je ne m'asseure plus de moi même, et que je n'oublieray ce que feray pour le Roy mon fils et moi.* And as he is returning for a reason that he will tell you. I shall not make a longer letter praying you to believe all he shall say on the part of her, of whom you may be as secure as of your own mother, and who is your good cousin, CATHERINE.

The superscription, To my Cousin the Prince de Condé.

MY COUSIN, [2.]

I have spoken to Ivoy[2] as freely as if it were to yourself, assuring myself of his fidelity, and that he will say nothing but to you alone, *et que vous ne m'alleguerez jamais, et aurez seulement souvenance de conserver les enfants, la mère, et le royaume, comme celui à qui touche et qui se peut assurer ne sera oublié.* Burn this letter immediately. Your good cousin,

CATHERINE.

MON COUSIN, [3.]

I thank you for the trouble you take to send me news of yourself, and as I hope to see you soon, I will

[1] They are without date, but were written, not from Fontainbleau, but Monceaux. These letters were presented by Condé in justification of his proceedings, to the Imperial Diet at Frankfort, November 1562; a step by the way, which Catherine never forgave.

Beza says, "they were all signed by the hand of Catherine, and will serve as a testimony to posterity, that this Prince undertook the war for the defence of religion, and at the express desire of the said lady."

[2] Afterwards under the name of Genlis, one of the principal Hugonot leaders.

not make a long letter, only begging you to rest assured that I shall never forget what you do for me; and if I die before I have an opportunity of acknowledging it, I will leave the obligation upon my children. I have told the bearer something to tell you, which I pray you to believe; and I assure myself that you will understand that all I do is for the maintenance of peace and tranquillity, which I know you desire as much as your good cousin, CATHERINE.

MON COUSIN, [4.]

I see so many things that displease me, that if it were not for the confidence I have in God, and assurance in you, that you will aid me to preserve this kingdom, and the service of the King my son, I should be still more unhappy—but I hope we shall remedy all with your good aid and counsel, and because I have explained myself at length to the bearer, I will make no repetition at present, begging you to believe what he will say to both of you on the part of your good cousin,

CATHERINE.[1]

Condé made use of these or similar letters, to raise his friends, and a letter of much the same import was addressed to the Count de la Rochfoucault, and sent by De Mergey, a gentleman attached to that eminent nobleman, who found the Count at his castle of Verteil.[2] "He re-

[1] The first husband of Madame de Duplessis Mornay le jeune Feuquières, was, she tells us in her Mémoires, the bearer of some of these letters, and was commanded by the Queen-Mother "d'aller trouver Monseigneur le Prince de Condé et l'assurer de sa bonne volonté vers lui et ses affaires, le priant durant la jeunesse de son fils d'être *protecteur de la mère et de l'enfant.*" This expression, met with in all the Hugonot histories, was probably a verbal one; it is not found in the letters, which are written, it will be seen, with much caution, and are couched in ambiguous terms, and, as it will be observed, always refer for explanation to the bearer.

[2] Mém. de Mergey.

ceived it (says De Mergey), as he was walking in his great hall; and after leaning some time in profound meditation on one of the windows, he turned to me, and asked what I thought he ought to do? I replied, that he must take counsel from himself. He answered, he was well resolved what to do, but he wished for my opinion. I said, My opinion, then, was, that he ought to do as the Queen and the Prince commanded him, since the service and liberty of their Majesties was in question. He replied, such was his determination; and returned to the hall with a smiling countenance, where he began immediately to write to his friends in Gascony, Perigord, Poictou, &c. to come to him in order to join the Prince—so that in fifteen days he took the field, with near 300 gentlemen and their trains—and with this fine troop he found the Prince at Orleans."

It seems difficult to determine why the Prince and Coligny hesitated so long in taking advantage of the favourable dispositions of the Queen. It is thought by many that they distrusted her, and hoped she would save them from the equivocal measure of apparently seizing upon the King's person, by openly placing him with herself in their hands. Great reluctance to be the first to commit a breach of the public peace, had its share in their delays and irresolutions.[1] It is certain they remained inactive at Meaux during five or six days, deliberating upon what was next to be done, "and to celebrate the Lord's Supper, for it was Easter."[2] The Admiral had been little satisfied at first with the strength of their party—which he asserted would, if not reinforced, be dissipated at the first rencontre—but such numbers of gentlemen soon joined them, that in four days they formed a very

[1] La Noue mainly attributes the delay to the scruples of the Admiral.

[2] Mém. de La Noue.

considerable body. It was now debated whether as a first step it would not be best to seize Orleans, in order to secure a proper asylum for the Queen-Mother. This proposal gave rise to fresh controversies, during which the golden opportunity for securing the royal persons was lost.

This fatal mistake La Noue accounts one of the leading errors committed by his party at the beginning of the war —the neglect to occupy Paris with a sufficient force before the arrival of the Duke de Guise being another. The Triumvirs were less scrupulous; warned by the Nuncio of the Queen's dispositions in favour of their enemies, they hesitated not to frustrate her intentions by open force. "I arrived here (at Paris)," says St. Croix,[1] "to represent to the King of Navarre and the other leaders, the necessity of visiting her Majesty immediately, and hinder Valence, who is perpetually at her ear, from persuading her to take some extraordinary step. The Constable entered so fully into my sentiments, that the resolution was taken to set out after dinner. M. le Connétable has just assured me that he is entering his litter to join the Queen with the other noblemen, and that they hope to make her change her resolution of retiring to Orleans." The Triumvirs and the King of Navarre, attended by their *compagnies d'ordonnance*, and some of their friends, accordingly left Paris, and rode with the greatest speed to Fontainbleau, where the Queen yet remained hesitating whether to take refuge at once among the Hugonot forces, or make her retreat to Blois. She was confounded when she found herself thus invaded, and turning indignantly to Navarre, the only one of the party who presumed to enter her presence, asked with what design he came, attended by so many men-at-arms, and what he wanted. He replied, that they were all faith-

[1] Lettres de Prospere St. Croix.

ful servants of the King, who, alarmed at the danger to which his sacred person might be exposed when such crowds of armed men were in the field, and with very doubtful designs, had come, at the peril of their lives, to escort him in safety to his capital. Catherine asked whether these faithful servants were not the same who, during so long a period, had been holding secret counsels,[1] and, to gratify their ambition and personal enmities, been devising schemes, which would finally precipitate the state into an abyss of ruin. She said, that though it might please them to deprive her of that regency with which she had been entrusted by the States-General, she still hoped they would not separate the mother from her children; and added that, as touching Navarre, he might continue as he had begun, to govern in concert with his new friends, but that he need not hope for the countenance of her name, or that of her son, to any of his measures. She, for her own part, intended to remain at Fontainbleau with her children—unless, indeed, she were carried away by force.

Navarre somewhat daunted by this address, retired to consult with his confederates. His scruples were ridiculed by the Duke de Guise, who laughed at the idea of resistance on the part of the Queen—adding, "besides, we have no occasion for her, she may remain here or quit the kingdom, as she likes, the thing is indifferent." After a short consultation Navarre returned to Catherine and informed her that as Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, he held himself responsible to the nation for the person of the King, whom it was his duty to conduct to a place of safety, but that he did not pretend to control her own personal movements. The Queen, whose political existence depended upon maintaining her close relations with her

[1] Garnier and Davila.

son, was afraid to offer further opposition. The equipages were hastily prepared; the furniture, which in those days followed the Court, taken down—the Constable, it is said, in his impatience, swearing at and striking the servants who were employed about the King's bed; and Catherine, silent with grief and indignation, and holding her son, who was shedding tears, by the hand, allowed herself to be conducted to Melun, vainly hoping for a rescue from Condé. During the whole journey she preserved an air of gloomy indignation, at which the Duke de Guise was little troubled, saying, that a public benefit was equally a benefit, whether obtained by force or by persuasion.[1] The next day the King and his mother were carried to the Bois de Vincennes, and on the following, March 28th, they entered Paris.

Arrived at Paris, the Queen found herself at first the object of the greatest possible distrust, but she was not long before, in appearance at least, she united her interests with those who surrounded her. Her conversion has been attributed by some to a conversation which, listening behind the tapestry, she chanced to overhear. The Maréchal de St. André was advising his friends to dispose of her by means of a sack and the river. Others have, with apparently better reason, supposed that the discovery upon which side the greatest power lay, decided her. Interest and fear are motives always sufficient to account for her actions. But whatever the cause to which we may attribute the change, it is certain she soon learned to regard the Hugonot chiefs as her bitterest enemies, and she henceforward persecuted them and their party with the most unrelenting animosity.

[1] In confirmation of Catherine's desire to escape, De Thou tells us there was a boat by her orders waiting at the bottom of the garden at Melun to facilitate her evasion.

In six days the Prince and the Admiral had, as we have said, collected a force at Meaux larger than they had calculated upon raising in a month. La Noue denies that this was the effect of diligence or premeditation on the part of the chiefs. "I, having been present, can affirm that it was not so. It is certain, however, that the greater part of the nobility having heard of the massacre of Vassi, urged partly by good will, partly by fear, had determined of themselves to come to Paris, imagining that their protectors might have need of them. Thus the most eminent set out from the provinces, some with sixteen, twenty, or thirty friends, carrying their arms concealed, and lodging in the hostels or in the fields, paying their way till they joined the principal body. Many have assured me that these motives alone put them in motion; and I have heard the Prince and the Admiral confess the same."[1]

Having thus collected what they thought a sufficient force, the Prince began to act, but unhappily too tardily to obtain his important object. On the 26th he, attended by the Admiral, marched to St. Cloud, where he was joined by 300 horse; but here he received the intelligence that the King was in the power of the Triumvirs, and already on his way to Paris.

"The Prince," says Davila,[1] "on hearing this news, checked his horse, and remained some time in doubtful deliberation what course now to pursue,—his mind filled with reflections upon those difficulties to which this event would expose him; but the Admiral coming up, who was some little way behind, the Prince sighed heavily, and saying 'We have plunged in, we must drink or die,' turned his horse's head and took the road to Orleans."

[1] Mém. de La Noue. [2] Davila Guerre Civ.

## CHAPTER VII.

CONDÉ SEIZES ORLEANS.—GENERAL RISING OF THE HUGONOTS.—STATE OF THE COUNTRY.—NEGOTIATIONS.

It is useless to enlarge upon the importance of the advantage which had thus been suffered to escape,—authority,—reputation of justice,—legality, and all those flattering appearances which wait in such a contest upon the name of King. From this moment the Hugonots, branded as rebels, were deserted by public opinion; and their cause may be considered as lost before the contest began. Paris abandoned, and the still greater object defeated of getting possession of the King's person, it was resolved immediately to seize upon Orleans, *pour y dresser une grosse tête*, and to collect a large force there as upon a central point, in case it should be necessary to have recourse to arms.

The confederates now amounted to 1000 gentlemen, and about as many more common soldiers, *plus armés*, says La Noue, *de courage que de corcelets.*[1]

They had intended to take peaceable possession of Orleans, and had dispatched D'Andelot the day before to learn the disposition of the town. He reported unfavourably, and sent word to the Prince to advance with all expedition to support him, as there was every appearance of a contest: upon which the Prince set forwards with 2000 horse, including servants, first at a round trot, but the

[1] Rather armed by their courage than by their cuirasses.

movement being accelerated by the general impatience, the advance took the air of a flight, and the whole party, with the Prince at their head, galloped at the top of their speed to the gates of the town, the best mounted running over the others. The road was covered with servants thrown, horses lamed, portmanteaus, cloaks, hats, and boots, "so that the passers by," says La Noue,[1] "imagined all the madmen of France were assembled together, sweeping over the earth like the winds of Languedoc." *Un bon ordre n'eust pas valu ce désordre.* The Prince entered the town at eleven o'clock, amidst the acclamations of the Reformed, who made the streets resound with their hymns of rejoicing, and their cries of *Vive l'Evangile.* The Catholics awaited their fate in trembling and in silence, but they were speedily reassured by the conduct of the Prince; he shewed every disposition to protect them, and even offered to retain their present governor, Monterud, in his situation. This, however, was refused by that gentleman, he saying, "*que là où il y a un Prince du sang il n'était raisonnable qu'un simple gentilhomme commandast.*"

Orleans, distant but thirty leagues from Paris, situated upon the banks of the Loire, in the midst of a fertile country, and offering, from its central position, the most perfect facility for maintaining general communications, held forth every recommendation as a centre of union for the Hugonot confederacy. It speedily became the refuge for the wives and families of such of the nobility as had already taken the field, and for such ministers as popular violence had driven to seek shelter under its walls. The Princess de Condé with her eldest son, and Theodore Beza, were among the most eminent of the refugees.

The first care of the Admiral upon arriving in Orleans was to endeavour to give a form and consistency to the

[1] Mémoires de la Noue.

materials he found under his hands, and to ensure stability and co-operation by forming a regular Union for the defence of religion. For this purpose a deed of association was drawn up, to remain in force until the majority of the King; and which, after taking an oath to maintain it, was signed by the principal gentlemen of the party, with the Prince de Condé at their head.

The object of the association was declared to be, to rescue the Sovereign and Queen-Mother from the oppression of the Triumvirs; and to secure the free exercise of the Reformed religion according to the provisions of the Edict of January. The Prince was nominated chief of the Union, under the title of *Protector and Defender of the Protestant Religion;* and to him the members of the confederacy swore obedience, *so long as he should govern by the advice of his Councils.* Of these there were three. The first, composed of the higher nobility alone, was strictly executive; its business being to conduct negotiations and military expeditions, and generally all matters that required secrecy and celerity. The second Council was composed of the ministers of religion, elders and officers of the second rank, and was to be employed upon matters that admitted of long and open deliberation. The third, a general Council composed of all such members of the Union as had no seat in the higher Councils, was to assemble only at stated intervals, to give its approbation or consent to matters regarding the association in general, such as the acceptance of terms, new internal regulations, &c. &c. The inclination of the Admiral for republican forms is very discernible in these arrangements; and it is no slight proof of the moderation and sincerity of Condé that he submitted to them cheerfully.

The principal members of the first Council were at the commencement as follows:—The Prince, the three bro-

thers Chatillon, the Prince de Porcian, the Count de la Rochefoucault, the Viscount de Rohan, Montgommeri, (he who had unfortunately slain Henry the Second,) the Count de Grammont, Duras, Soubise, Mouy, and the two brothers Genlis and Ivoi.

In order to enforce the difficult point of exact military discipline in an army composed wholly of volunteers, and where the officers had a most precarious authority, Coligny suggested the plan of attaching a minister to each company, who should recite prayers aloud morning and evening, preach the Word of God, and retain by his exhortations both chiefs and soldiers in a strict attention to good morals and Christian principles. Coligny found the same advantage which Cromwell in later days obtained from thus cultivating religious enthusiasm among his soldiers. Never was there a braver or for some time a better conducted body of men than was this little army.[1] The gravity and severity natural to Coligny, tended in no small degree to increase the effect of the regulations he had laid down. He possessed a manner that imposed, we are told, upon every individual among his followers. "*Il tenoit en bride, comme un censeur, les appetits immodérés des jeunes gens, seigneurs, et gentilshommes Protestants; par un certain sévérité qui lui étoit naturel et bienséant.*"[2]

In order to raise money, various expedients were proposed. The first and most obvious was to levy a general contribution upon the churches, whose number amounted at this time to 2150. Couriers were, therefore, immediately dispatched to each, calling for supplies in men and

[1] The *Casaques blanches*, as they were called, from the white surcoats they wore.

[2] He held as a censor the immoderate passions of the young men, whether lords or gentlemen, in check, by a certain gravity which was natural to him, and which became him well.—Mém. de Castlenau.

money. Beza, and the ministers assembled in Orleans, seconding the demand by every argument in their power. But the succours thus obtained were of course very limited; for it being evident that the war would rapidly spread over the whole kingdom, it became incumbent upon every congregation to husband its resources in order to provide for its own defence. A second expedient was, therefore, suggested, namely, to seize upon the public monies in every place where their party should have the upper hand, and appropriate them to the service of the Confederacy—this was in many places done, but always with a declaration that the money was intended for the King's service. The last expedient they had recourse to, but one which afforded by far the most abundant supply, was the plunder of the churches, monasteries, rich abbeys, and religious houses, of those vast treasures in reliquaries, images, crosses, vases, and candlesticks, which the piety of ages had accumulated. Even the very bells and the lead of the roofs were to be melted down to supply ammunition for the Hugonot army. These last measures were particularly agreeable to the commoner sort among the religious — as it afforded an opportunity for destroying the objects of an idolatry which they abhorred, and of impoverishing a magnificent and luxurious clergy whom they detested; but it carried with it the disadvantage of greatly increasing the popular exasperation. This destruction of sacred things being regarded by the world in general as blasphemous and barbarous in the last degree. Brantôme, however, whose feelings are entirely those of a courtier and a soldier, and who,—in spite of his devotion to the house of Guise, delights in the character of the Admiral,—defends and almost applauds the measure; and seems to consider the abundance

[1] Brantôme, Hommes Illustres, Coligny.

of specie which it was the means of throwing into circulation, as a benefit in itself sufficient to exonerate Coligny from the charge of having occasioned the ruin of his country.

"I heard the question discussed," says he, "by two good Catholics one day in the chamber of the Queen-Mother, and they decided that this good civil war (*cette bonne guerre civile*) had been so far from impoverishing, that it had very much enriched the kingdom of France: discovering as it did, and bringing to light such an infinity of treasures hidden under ground as it were in the churches, converting them into good and fair monies in such quantities, that more millions of gold were stirring in France, than one had been used to see livres of silver. As a gentleman (*de par le monde*) might testify, if he chose, who of the silver railing of Tours, given by our good King Louis the Eleventh, made a cask-full of testoons. As did many other Lords by other treasures and relics, all coined, observe, with the head and effigy of our little King Charles then reigning. I do not intend to say that it was handsome or right thus to spoil the churches to enrich individuals; but this I know, that I have seen gentlemen—who, ruined by their debts contracted in the Italian wars, traversed the country with two horses and one little lacquey,—so well mounted during the civil wars, that they would ride with six or seven good horses, *et brave comme le batârd de Lupé*. Good ransoms squeezed they out of the usurers, if by chance they caught them, making the crowns fly out of their purses, ay, and would if they had been buried in their bones. And thus the brave nobility of France were restored to affluence by the grace of this good civil war, so well invented and introduced, *par ce grand Monsieur l'Amiral*."[1]

[1] One other means adopted should be adverted to—the having recourse

While the Hugonots thus laid the foundation of a Union which, with some variations, subsisted during a century and a half in France—the Triumvirs, before matters had proceeded thus far, had prepared themselves for the war they had resolved upon, by entering into a close alliance with the King of Spain, and the other Catholic princes. The following atrocious paper, long considered apocryphal, has been authenticated by M. de Capefigue,[1] and leaves no doubt as to the extent to which these men, indifferent to the best interests of their country and insensible to the commonest claims of humanity, had already pledged themselves to the ancient enemy of France. The paper is entitled, "*Sommaire des Choses premièrement accordées entre les Ducs de Guise, grand maître, pair de France, De Montmorenci Connétable, et Maréchal Saint André*, 1562; it is to be found signed, in the original, in the MS. Colbert. Bibl. du Roi. "Imprimis. In order that the affair may be conducted with the greater authority, it is determined to yield the superintendence of the whole to King Philip the Catholic, and, with one consent, to constitute him chief and leader (*conducteur*) of the enterprise. The Duke de Guise will declare himself also chief of the Roman confession (*confession Romaine*), and will assemble valiant men at arms, and all those of his suite. The Emperor, and the other German Princes, who still adhere to the Catholic religion, will take care to stop the passages which lead to France during the expected war, lest the Protestant Princes should send forces that way. In the meantime the King of Spain will send

for aid to the foreign Protestant princes. This step occasioned many scruples upon the part of Coligny, and he shewed the greatest reluctance to calling in foreigners to engage in these domestic quarrels; but when the Triumvirs set the example—and he found that the government was asking assistance from the Pope, and the King of Spain, his objections yielded to necessity.

[1] Histoire de la Réforme en France.

a portion of his army (*exercite*) to the Duke of Savoy, who on his side shall make as large a levy of soldiers as can conveniently be done in his estates. The Pope, and the other Princes of Italy, shall declare the Duke of Ferrara chief of their army, who shall join the Duke of Savoy; and, to augment their forces, the Emperor Ferdinand shall give orders to send some companies of infantry and German horse. In France, for good and especial reasons, it will be desirable to follow another course, and *on no pretence to spare the life of any one* who has formerly (*autrefois*) made profession of this sect; and the commission to extirpate all those who profess the new religion shall be given to the Duke de Guise, who shall have in charge entirely to efface the name, family, and race of Bourbon, lest from them should in future some one arise to avenge these things (*qui poursuive en vengeance ces choses*), or restore this new religion.

"Things thus ordered throughout France, and the kingdom restored to her entire ancient and pristine position; sufficient forces being assembled, it will be necessary to invade Germany, and, with the aid of the Emperor and the bishops, render and restore her to the Holy Apostolical See; and should this war prove more difficult or long (*plus forte ou longue*) than the Duke de Guise desires, in order that it may not be conducted lukewarmly or weakly for want of money, the Duke de Guise, to obviate this inconvenience, will lend to the Emperor, and the other ecclesiastical princes, all the money that he shall have amassed from the confiscation of so many, either nobles, bourgeois, or rich men, as shall have been killed in France on account of their religion, which will amount to a large sum."

The perfect justification of the measures adopted by the Hugonots and the party of the Prince rests upon

this now well authenticated paper. To offer a single observation upon it would be superfluous, I will only remark that the accession of the King of Navarre to the faction would, most likely, in some degree, have modified the article with regard to the Bourbon Princes, though the reader will observe that the Cardinal de Bourbon is not excepted. It is more than probable that this terrific association frightened both Anthony and Catherine into a confederacy, which had become so formidable. They both, however, appear to have soon adopted and with little difficulty the principles upon which the coalition was based.

The Duke de Guise was now entire master of Paris, and the city was speedily organised under his direction, so as to become not only entirely devoted to him, but one of the most efficient of the engines which he employed. The character now imprinted upon its population of barbarity, fanaticism, and devoted attachment to the house of Guise was maintained nearly to the end of the century.

The first step taken in defiance of the Edict of January—still in force—was to forbid the exercise of the Reformed religion in the fauxbourgs of Paris. The Constable suppressed the meetings with his usual violence, tearing down the temples, dispersing the congregations, and driving the Reformed ministers out of the city. The Protestants, who had now dignified the King of Navarre with the title of "*caillette qui tourne sa jaquette*," continued to honour the Constable with the old one of *brusle banc*.

The *halles* extolled the Duke de Guise as their deliverer from sectaries and heretics, while the different bodies, namely, the *Corps Municipal*, the *Confrèries*, and the *Parliament*, to strengthen their party, or rather faction, adopted the most violent measures.

The 16th of May, 1562, an ordonnance was issued by

the King of Navarre to all captains and lieutenants of each quarter (who were themselves chosen by the bourgeoisie), to nominate ensigns, corporals, and sergeants—and to command that all the inhabitants of their *dixaines*, of the ancient Catholic religion, do, as well masters as servants, in the name of the King, equip themselves in such arms as they have, and, in case they have not, to provide the same, also that all *chefs d'hostels et chambrelans* shall assist at the *monstres et revues*.

Another ordonnance—"*De par le Roi et Monsieur de Brissac*,"—now governor of Paris—commands all those notorious (*notoirement diffamés*) as belonging to the new religion, to quit the town in twenty-four hours—*sur peine de la hart*—and all such as are even suspected of heresy, to appear in person, within twenty-four hours, before the Archbishop of Paris, or his vicars, to make their confession of faith.[1]

Care was also taken by an arrêt of the Parliament, to prevent the possibility of any one of suspected opinions being elected to any of the municipal offices within the town.

There was some difficulty in carrying into execution the order which commanded the Hugonots to abandon the town. Their numbers were formidable, and the lieutenant civil refused to act unless under an arrêt of the Parliament. But this being deemed still insufficient, recourse was had to the populace. The Hugonots were informed that the mob had got a list of the names of those who had been commanded to quit the town, and were resolved to pillage (*piller et sacager*) all those who refused obedience; while to maintain the lower classes in a due state of excitement, nothing was neglected—processions, preachings, every possible means was made use

[1] From papers examined by M. Capefigue.

of, till the capital became devoted to the high Catholic party, with a blind fanaticism which mocks description.

The Council, properly so called, which had followed the King to Paris, must henceforward be considered as forming one government, with the Triumvirs and Navarre, and discussions immediately arose among its several members as to what should next be done.

The Duke de Guise declared unequivocally for war; while De l'Hopital, supported in secret by the Queen, strenuously enforced the necessity of an accommodation; and was indefatigable in his endeavours to traverse the designs of the Triumvirs. But he was not long suffered to continue his opposition. The Council of government having, after the seizure of Orleans,[1] declared itself a council of war, he was excluded; and the faction having still further strengthened itself by the admission into the Cabinet of Villars, d'Escars, Maugiron, and La Bresse,—men devoted to the Constable and to the Duke de Guise,—the government remained entirely in their hands.

As is usual in such cases, manifestoes to declare and defend the motives of each party in taking arms preceded an open rupture. On the 8th of April, the first manifesto of the Prince de Condé was published. "Though," began the Prince, "it was rather the part of his adversaries, than his own, to justify their conduct in taking up arms, and occasioning those miseries which now threatened France, yet, to prevent misrepresentation, he had resolved to declare the motives which had determined him to call together his relations, friends, and servants,[2] to assist the King and Queen in their necessity (*en leur besoing*), and to maintain the authority of the Edicts." He protested before God, the King, and all princes and potentates, allies of the crown, that the consideration of what was

[1] Davila. [2] Mém. de Condé, Beza, Hist. des Eglises.

due to God and to the kingdom,—and the desire to restore the King to liberty, and maintain his edicts in their full vigour, had alone induced him to take up arms, and therefore he prayed all good and loyal subjects of his Majesty to lend him their assistance in a cause so good, so just, and so holy. "And because," he went on to say, "the States-General had made a large contribution of monies to discharge the just debts of the crown; he protested, with regard to those his enemies who had undertaken a civil war *de gaieté de cœur*, that if they dared to lay their hands upon these sums, one day or other they should be made accountable." He declared, also, that he would yield to no man living in loyalty and obedience to the King,—but that prince, being now in the power of his enemies, and consequently his lawful councillors intimidated,—he was not one to suffer them to set their feet upon his neck, under pretence of any commands or letters patent issued in the King's name, until his Majesty was restored to his rightful authority. Finally, he protested, with all the company there assembled, that should the King, being freed from this coercion, be pleased to command both parties to disarm and retire to their houses (though his own rank might exempt him from such conditions), yet in his earnest desire for the peace of the country, he would obey, so soon as his adversaries should have set him the example—provided always that he might have assurance that the Edict of January would be maintained inviolate (*inviolablement gardé*). But that if such conditions were rejected; and that his enemies, refusing to liberate the King and his Council, persisted in abusing his name and authority, in order to trample upon his subjects, he for his part neither could, nor would, endure it; but all the evils, miseries, and calamities which might thence arise, were not, there-

fore, to be imputed to him, but to those who were alone the origin, and the true cause."[1]

This protestation having been despatched to Paris upon the 10th of April, the Prince, equally anxious to justify his proceedings in the eyes of Europe, and more especially in those of the Protestant Princes of Germany, followed it upon the same day with *missives*, as Beza calls them, to the Elector Palatine, and other Princes of the persuasion, the one to the elector being to the following effect:—

"MONSIEUR MON COUSIN,

"Since it has pleased God to reduce the affairs of the kingdom to such a pass, that the enemies of the Christian religion and of the public peace have violently seized upon the persons of the King and of the Queen-Mother, in order that they may the more easily execute their atrocious designs against the poor faithful servants of Christ, (*leur furieux desseins sur les pauvres fidèles*) and carry out the dismal tragedy begun at Vassi; I should esteem it a thing far unworthy of the profession [of religion] I have made, and of the rank in which it has pleased God that I should be born; if in this hour of necessity I did not make opposition (*je ne m' opposois vivement*). Having, therefore, . . . . summoned all the principal and most eminent Nobles and Lords of France to take up arms and rescue their Majesties from captivity; I have thought it a thing not to be kept secret (*scellée*) from you, . . . . believing that you will hear it with pleasure, and will share our joy when it shall please the Lord to give us the upper hand. And as I fear that they (His enemies) have already made you believe what is contrary to the truth (*le rebours de la vérité*) in order to shake your virtuous constancy in support of the gospel

[1] Beza, Hist. des Eglises, Mém. de Condé.

and its followers—disguising their own evil intentions according to their usual custom—I have sent you the declaration and protestation that I have made, in order that you may judge the equity of my cause; which is the common cause of this kingdom and of all Christendom, now threatened with the like contagion. I therefore, my cousin, beg of you, as affectionately as is possible, that you will demonstrate to the King and Queen, and to the faithful of this kingdom, *l'effet de vos bonnes intentions*, as every one hopes and expects from you, . . . which things my gentleman, bearer of this, will more amply make you understand, as well upon my own part as that of my nephew, the Prince de Porcian, &c., &c. Ecrit à Orleans, le 10 Avril, 1562."

The answer of the Prince Palatine is inserted at full length by Beza, "*Comme témoignage très digne de la magnanimité et piété de ce Prince entre tous ceux de son temps.*"[1]

It was in effect as follows :—

Beginning, "*Très illustre Prince et cher Cousin,*

"A certain messenger has brought me two letters from you, full of wisdom, statement of facts, greatness of courage, and good affection. . . . . Now, having understood by your two letters, . . . . and by your declaration, . . . that the affairs of France are already in extreme danger, *et accessoire*, and that all good people are in much pain upon that account, I have grieved the more, (*autant plus été contristé*) as I have learned, not only by your letters, but by those from other Princes of France, that there is little hope or appearance of restoring a good understanding. Now I, who fain would console you, want consolation myself; for it is long since I have been so grieved for any accident which may have befallen my-

[1] Beza, Hist. des Eglises.

self, as for the calamity and desolation at present in France, *votre pays doux.* But I beg of you to take courage, and to shew yourself of virtue, recollecting in what a situation, and in what an era we have been placed in the world, . . . . and what great perils and inconveniences, —more than it is possible to number, attend upon all governments,—and especially upon such as have admitted within their circle the church of Christ: as by your means and solicitation it has begun to be done in the kingdom of France, thanks be to God, therefore—and to you great honour and praise.

"Now above all things I entreat, and lovingly pray you according to the duty of your calling (*devoir de votre vocation*) and the fear of God which is in you, with the singular prudence and courage with which you are so abundantly adorned,—surpassing so many others,—that you will have in nothing so great care (*que vous n' ayez rien en tel soin et recommendation*) as the true advancement and conservation of the gospel, which shines and resounds at this present in France, (*luit et resonne pour le jourd'hui en France*) and also the necessity of the command of God, which is to believe in the only—only, I say—Son of God—*unique Sauveur de l' humain lineage* . . . . . and that you will have regard to the tender age of your most Christian King, and to the reputation and authority of the Queen-Mother; the which, for her singular piety and prudence . . . . must not only be the comfort and defence, but the ornament, of your kingdom of France.

"For these being safe, it will be easy to find means to heal and replace things in their ancient repose and tranquillity, . . . . by holy and just conditions, such as you, in your prudence, shall judge necessary for the conservation of the church of Christ, and the liberty of the state and kingdom.

". . . . . for I doubt not (in such case) that the all-powerful God, who is the protector of the widow and the orphan, . . . . will aid and assist you by his holy angel, . . . . . so that it will not be necessary to decide by arms the differences which have arisen ; the event of war being as uncertain as it is grievous and lamentable."

He then cites the religious wars of Germany, as examples of the calamities and disorders consequent upon an appeal to arms, *des quelles guerres j'ai horreur de tenir plus long propos*, and exhorts him and the assembled Princes to seek, by every means in their power, the re-establishment of peace : promising, in rather vague terms, —in common with the other Protestant Princes,—*de pourchasser tous saints et honnêtes moyens lesquelles j'estimerai être avantageux pour la prospérité de votre Roi très Chrétien et de la Reine sa Mère.* He terminates with an exhortation, should a civil war be necessary, to remember, when fighting for the church, *ainsi que dit Judas Machabée,—Il est aisé d'enclorre et mettre un grand nombre entre les mains de peu de gens.* For, that it is as easy for God to deliver with many as with few. "Victory comes not from a large army ; *mais la force procède de Dieu.*" Assuring the Prince of his good wishes, *et pouvez attendre de moi toutes faveurs et plaisirs honnêtes, je ne tromperai point votre espérance*, he concludes ; *Écrit d'Eydelberg ce* 27 *Mai*, 1562, *Wolphgang Comte Palatin.*[1]

The first manifesto of Condé was met upon the part of his adversaries by a letter, sent for registry to the Court of Parliament, in which the King was made to declare the report of his captivity "*fausse et mensongère* . . . . the King and Queen having come of their own free will to Paris, and being there at as full liberty as they could desire." Another arrêt followed, maintaining the provisions

[1] Beza, Hist. des Eglises.

of theEdict of January throughout France, Paris excepted: but this article was added, and entirely deprived the Hugonots of any security they might have derived from the concession. "*Vu la necessité du temps et pour provision seulement.*"

In spite, however, of these declarations, professedly upon the part of the King and Queen-Mother, the deputies dispatched from Orleans in order to acquaint the King with all that had been done, had an audience of the Queen in the presence of the Chancellor; when she appeared extremely well satisfied with the measures taken by the Prince, and made very particular enquiries as to the strength in men and money possessed by the churches.

Upon the 21st of April the answer of the Parliament of Paris to the manifesto of the Prince, was communicated to him.

The terms are respectfully couched; but the substance left nothing to hope from the equity of that influential body.

They beg the Prince to disbelieve all reports as to the captivity of the King, because *le Roi de Navarre votre frère aîné* would not have permitted such wrong to have been done: and they exhort the Prince not to believe any injurious reports against the King of Navarre and the Cardinal de Bourbon; "for if their magnanimity and fidelity were not universally acknowledged, it might offend them very much;" with more upon the same subject, and in the same strain.

With respect to religion, they content themselves with the most disheartening expressions; holding out no security for the maintenance of the Edict of January, but rather leading to the inference, that, as the Edict of July had been abrogated, there was no reason why this of January should not be abrogated also.

Nothing, in short, could be more unsatisfactory than this missive from the Parliament, which may be found at length in Beza.

The Prince, hearing that proclamation had upon the preceding day been made in the squares of Paris, summoning all the gentlemen of the kingdom to take up arms to combat the seditious (*les séditieux et mauvais Chrétiens*), and perceiving that it was the determination of his adversaries to force him into a war, published his second manifesto, dated the 25th of April.[1]

In this he begins by contrasting the obedience and loyalty he had displayed with the conduct of his adversaries, shewing that, at the simple command of the King, he had immediately quitted Paris with his friends, under the expectation that his enemies would do the same; and adds that he would have been equally ready to lay down his arms, if he could have had the least reason to believe that they would have followed his example. He goes on to say that inasmuch as the ears of the King were abused with false and calumnious reports, he felt obliged to publish this his second declaration, addressed not only to the King and European Potentates, but to the Parliament of Paris, whom he besought to enregister it with the preceding one; "that the King when he came of age might judge, *qui lui auront voulu faire humble service en cet endroit.*"

He again repeats, that the cause of the troubles lay with his enemies, who refused to submit to the reasonable conditions to which he had himself consented—a thing not to be wondered at, as "they had never ceased to disturb the tranquillity of the kingdom, to further their ambitious schemes, *et ont voulu toujours remuer ménage et faire nouvelles entreprises*"—and he instances, in proof of

[1] Bez. Hist. des Eglises.

his assertion, what had passed in the reigns of the last three Kings, more especially in that of Francis the Second, "instigating the young King against his own subjects—and sullying his memory with such acts of cruelty, *que chacun aurait horreur d'en parler.*" He contrasts their government with that of the last few months under the King of Navarre—when all things were becoming peaceably settled, until their restless ambition had given rise to fresh troubles and rendered a civil war imminent. And he again affirmed, that their animosity against the Edict of January merely arose from the effect it had produced in pacifying the kingdom; and that even now, when with an appearance of moderation they proposed to allow of its being maintained in every part of France, save in the city of Paris, it was well known that proposition was only made with intent gradually to put the Edict down throughout the kingdom—the Constable having been overheard to say in open Parliament, "Let us manage this, and we will soon settle the rest."

He said that to assert that the people of Paris could not be made to endure the Edict was absurd, as it was well known that the Prince de Porcian, and afterwards the Maréchal de Montmorenci, with ten or twelve arquebusiers, had been able to maintain the town in perfect tranquillity until the arrival of the Duke de Guise had thrown everything into confusion, and various companies of soldiers been raised by him, without even the pretence of authority from the King. Added to which, the intercepted letters clearly shewed what their designs were, not only to break up the association now assembled at Orleans, but afterwards to execute their long projected plans against both great and small: the barbarity of which might be judged of from the cruelties lately exercised at Paris in the presence of the Constable; and from

the horrible massacre of Sens, an archbishopric belonging to the Cardinal de Guise. As for the Queen's invitation to Court, he treated it with the contempt which it merited; asking what security she could offer to others, who was herself *bonâ fide* a prisoner; or what reliance could he place upon her assurances "*d'autant que ses ennemis le possedent abusant de sa facilité?*" He added, that he should take care how he placed himself in the hands of those whom he designated as rebels and enemies to the King, having nothing in view but their own aggrandisement—men who were levying soldiers at this moment in direct defiance of the resolutions of the States-General, and were thus arming the King against his own subjects —*desquels avant cette belle entreprise, il aurait été fidèlement, et de bonne volonté obéi et sera encore désormais.* He accused them of running the King into ruinous and exorbitant expenses; and of risking the welfare of the kingdom in general by withdrawing the garrisons from Metz and Calais to assist in their nefarious designs; and concluded by saying, that they justified all these measures by the high offices they occupied in the state, but he would tell them, such offices were never conferred to give men the liberty of taking up arms on their own private authority — of breaking the King's edicts at their good pleasure—and assuming to themselves more than even the brothers of the King had ever in former times ventured to do. He again demands that, as the only means of pacifying dissension, they shall be compelled to retire to their estates—and asserts, that the Queen—lying under bodily fear — finds it impossible, under such circumstances, to enforce the measures necessary to preserve the kingdom *d'une si grande ruine.* As for the image-breaking, of which his party was so heavily accused, particularly at Tours and Blois, he can only say that he has given orders

for all offenders to be searched out and punished, as well on that account as for the slightest infraction of the Edict of January. Finally, he summons all the high courts of Parliament, and the cities and communities of the kingdom, seriously to weigh the effect of this his declaration, and prepare to render an account of their proceedings before the King's Majesty, as he hopes and intends to do one day himself. Praying that all, laying aside prejudices and private affections, may look only to the preservation of the state in this emergency — "lending him *aide et secours en une cause si sainte, où il est question du bien et honneur de leur Roi.*"

This second declaration was sent to the Parliament of Paris with other letters upon the 29th of the month.

"The above papers shew but too plainly," continues Beza,[1] "that on both sides, that is to say, both at Paris and Orleans, they were preparing to take up arms, while they were already actually skirmishing and fighting in various parts of the kingdom—yet they not the less continued to plead this cause in writing. Some apparently endeavoured to keep their adversaries asleep, others were most sincerely desirous to pacify these troubles by equitable and gentle measures—which, I can assure you before God, was the intention at least of the Prince and all the great Lords of his Council. The ministers of religion used all the instances, exhortations, and means in their power to prevent the having recourse to arms: though it is true they ceased not to exhort the Prince and his followers, not to abandon the great duty of the preservation of their Church."

The Queen now herself wrote to Condé by the Abbé de Saint Jean de Laon, a creature of the Cardinal de Lorraine, to which letter the Prince replied in the following manner:

[1] Hist. des Eglises.

"MADAME,

"The thing that grieves me the most in the world is to see that you do not from all sides receive that obedience, *qūe vous veux toute ma vie porter*,—and that there are those who look rather to the satisfaction of their own wishes, than to seek the means of accommodation and restoration of peace to this kingdom. . . . . All must and ought to know, Madame, who it is that prevents your being quite at your ease and exempted from those sorrows which infinitely afflict the most devoted of your servants, who little expected to see such things in their day. And to shew you that what I have till now done has had no other source but the fidelity I owe you, and that I have been moved by no private interest, I send you with this a memorial signed by my hand, in which I have put down the means which I esteem would be the best for restoring that peace which your Majesty so much desires, and for extinguishing all private animosity, my letter will not need therefore on this account to be long. I supplicate God who holds the hearts of Kings and of all men in his hands, that he will be pleased to restore all your subjects to such obedience—*que nous puissions en bref rendre grâces de vous voir, Madame, fort contente comme je le désire.*—From Orleans, 1st May 1562."

The propositions thus submitted to the Queen-Mother were few in number, and mark the moderation of the Prince and his party; they are couched in the most temperate terms:

"In the first place," begins the paper, "the said seigneur Prince would shew to their Majesties, that before the enterprise of those who began to take up arms, and who now hold their said Majesties in captivity . . . all this kingdom was beginning to enjoy good repose (*un bon*

*repos*) upon the subject of religion; each party holding themselves contented through the Edict of January: which Edict was promulgated with the advice of the Princes of the blood, the Lords of the Council, and a notable company of Presidents and Councillors of Parliament, in which place it has since been registered. And without the observance of it, it will be found impossible to maintain tranquillity among the subjects of the King, as experience has proved."

He therefore demands that it shall be observed without restriction or modification, until the determination of a free Council, or until the majority of the King (*auxquel le dit sieur Prince et ceux de sa compagnie aimerait mieux mourir que d'avoir failli d'obéir,*")—only stipulating, that in case the King shall then see fit to forbid the exercise of their religion, every one should be at liberty, "with all humility and submission, to demand permission to quit the kingdom and retire elsewhere." Also that equal compensation should be made immediately to all parties on either side for any injuries or outrages they may have received since the troubles began—and that all edicts and ordonnances, promulgated since the King and Queen might be justly esteemed in a state of captivity, should be repealed—*Cassé's.*

He next insists *non pour être mu d'aucune haine ou passion,* but merely to ensure the free agency of the King and Queen,—the authority of the government, and the maintenance of the edicts,—that she should either separate herself from those around her, and with her son proceed to some place at equal distance from Paris and Orleans, where the chiefs of both parties might present themselves before her, and render an account of their conduct:—or, that, remaining herself in the Louvre, she should command all who had taken up arms—more espe-

cially the Duke de Guise and the Maréchal de St André—to lay them down, and retire to their respective estates; pledging those of his party, and himself, (though by his rank as Prince of the blood exempt from such obligations), to immediately follow such example; and he offered on his own part, to give up, not only the Marquis de Conti, his eldest son, but all his children into the Queen's hands as pledges of his sincerity.

He ends, as usual, by casting the whole guilt of the civil war upon his adversaries should they refuse *ces douces et raisonnables propositions.*[1]

To these proposals the Triumvirs replied by a publication in the name of the King, and which was registered by the Parliament.[2] The young prince was herein made to declare that he and his mother came to Paris by their own consent, and were there at perfect liberty. He offered to confirm the Edict of January in all places, with the exception of Paris: this being followed by a promise from the Triumvirs, to quit the Court with their friends, on the following conditions; 1st—That in conformity to his oath taken at the altar, the King shall declare, by a perpetual edict, that he will never authorise any diversity of religion in his state, nor church, nor preachings, nor sacraments, nor assemblies, nor ecclesiastical ministers—but wills and intends that the one only Catholic religion, apostolic and Roman, shall be permitted in France, and all others rejected and reprobated. 2nd—That no officer of the crown shall be permitted to continue in his charge without making a public profession of his adherence to the above religion. That all who had taken up arms without the authority of the Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, should, on his first requisition, lay them down; and that all who

[1] Beza, Hist. des Eglises, Mém. de Condé.

[2] Garnier, Hist. France, Beza Hist. des Eglises.

were at present in arms should be declared rebels and public enemies to the King and kingdom. Finally, that the King of Navarre, as representative of the Sovereign, should alone retain the power of assembling a military force, which should continue armed as long as he might deem it necessary for the security of the state. Upon these conditions—which were proposed in all humility, as the sole means to prevent the subversion of the monarchy—they declared themselves ready, not only to retire from Court, but to retreat to the remotest corner of the world, bearing away as their only recompense the reflection that by such a sacrifice they should have secured the ancient estate and religion of France, and thus in part repaid the obligations they lay under to its sovereigns. "By an additional article they professed that they required nothing similar on the part of the Prince de Condé—desiring rather that his Majesty should retain him at Court, in order to withdraw him from the dangerous society in which he was at present to be found."

It is unnecessary to remark that these propositions, carrying—as they did in some points, an appearance of fairness—were such as it was impossible for the Hugonots, with the slightest pretence of prudence, to accept. The King of Navarre, in whose hands as Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, the whole military force of the kingdom was to be vested, was devoted to their enemies, and to consent to disarm under these circumstances, was to yield themselves, bound hand and foot, into their power. As to the Prince himself, the way in which mention was made of him was intended only to excite the jealousy of his party. To this, and another declaration to the same effect, Condé answered by a long and extremely able reply.

In answer to the affirmation made in the name of the King and his mother that they were at perfect liberty, he

asked, "Was it by their orders, then, that the Triumvirs came to Fontainbleau? Did they shed no tears on being carried away? had not the Chancellor been driven against the Queen's wishes from the Council—and did the Queen herself never lie down with the apprehension that she might be strangled before morning? and, when she appeared to command the Prince to lay down his arms, did she not in truth dread his obedience as the greatest misfortune which could by possibility befal her? Was it not a fact that the flourishing state of the Prince's affairs had been the reason why great additional respect and consideration had been lately shown her? As for the conditions which the Triumvirs were pleased to annex to their submission—was it for them to prescribe the terms of their obedience? And after the nation, assembled by its deputies at Orleans and Pontoise, had demanded temples and a civil existence for the Protestants—and the sovereign authority had decided on their condition by a registered edict—did it become a foreigner like the Duke of Guise, *et deux petits compagnons*, like Montmorenci and St. André, to demand, or rather to decree, the abolition of the Religion, save under conditions annexed by their good pleasure? With respect to the article which tended to mark as rebels and infamous all those who had taken up arms without the permission of the King of Navarre, it was no point to be discussed in writing; the explanation should be demanded by the Prince in the proper place, at the point of his lance, and at the head of 10,000 men.

In the conclusion to this very spirited and clever defence, which may be found at length in Beza, it was again required that these, and all other papers issued by the contending parties, should be inscribed on the registers of Parliament, in order to afford the King, when he should arrive at age, the means to decide between them.

## CHAPTER VIII.

TOWNS THAT JOIN THE HUGONOTS.—THE ARMIES TAKE THE FIELD.—ARRET OF THE PARLIAMENT OF PARIS.

THE situation of his affairs justified the high-toned defiance of the Prince de Condé. His first manifesto had been followed by so general a revolt, "that," says Brantôme, "all the best towns in France were taken—and when it was asked at Court which towns had fallen into the hands of the Hugonots? it was answered — Say rather, which have escaped." Thirty-five large cities, among which Blois, Tours, Dieppe, Havre de Grace, Montauban, Nismes, Orange, Lyons, and Grenoble, — La Rochelle, with the districts of the Vivarets, the Cevennes, the Venaissin, in fact, almost the whole of the south of France are enumerated in the Mémoires de Castlenau, as among those which immediately declared themselves. "In which," says he, "the Hugonots spoiled the churches, and broke the images, throwing them everywhere upon the ground with the greatest animosity."[1] This universal insurrection is mainly to be attributed to the violence and cruelty of the Catholics themselves. The pages of De Thou and D'Aubigné are stained with the records of their atrocious barbarities, ex-

[1] The passion for iconoclasm is represented in the following anecdote. The Prince endeavoured, at Orleans, to put a stop to this irritating species of devastation, and actually levelled his arquebuss at a man who was busy defacing the images which ornamented the front of the great church of Saint Croix; the man, not deterred from his occupation, coolly turned round and said, "Monsieur ayez patience que j'abbatte cette idole, puisque je meurs si tôt après."

ercised without remorse, upon every age, sex, and condition. At Sens, we see the people headed by their Archdeacon, and, as it is supposed, with the privity of their Archbishop, the Cardinal de Guise, instigated by the continual ringing of the cathedral bells, to one indiscriminate slaughter. The very gardens and vineyards of the Hugonots are defaced and destroyed. The bodies of the victims thrown into the Yonne, are floated to Paris; the King, walking on the edge of the Seine, perceives one of these objects, and asks, "What is that?" "Sire," a gentleman has the courage to answer, "it is one of the slaughtered inhabitants of Sens coming to demand justice."[1]

France can now be considered but as one vast scene of bloodshed and devastation. The details alone can convey an adequate idea of that worst of human calamities, a religious civil war — but to this, the limits of this work cannot extend, and a few striking anecdotes must serve as specimens of the almost universal barbarity.

In Guyenne, where the fury of Montluc had irritated the Hugonots to the last degree, the revolt was, with the exception of the city of Bourdeaux, universal. The perusal of the Memoirs of Montluc must be consulted to form a just impression of his atrocities. The streets of Cahors actually streamed with blood—D'Aubigné says, in one place to the depth of a foot. Wherever he passed, the trees loaded with dead bodies, bore witness to the hasty indifference of his executions — "*Je fus cruel alors; je depechois ces cartons de charognes, de prisonniers il ne s'en parloient point en ce temps là. En ces guerres civiles il faut venir à la rigueur et à la cruauté*"[2]—after the defeat of Duras, I was informed, that sixty or eighty Hugo-

[1] Hist. Univ. D'Aubigni, De Thou.
[2] Mém. de Montluc.
[3] I was cruel enough then. I despatched these carrions. There was no talk of prisoners in those days. In civil wars there is no help for it, one must have recourse to cruelty.

nots had retired to the Gironde. I caught them, and hung seventy round the pillars of the market-place—*on pouvait connaitre par là où j'étois passé, car par les arbres sur les chemins on trouvoit les enseignes:*"[1]—such are the expressions, and such the incidents recorded in his extraordinary Memoirs.

At the taking of Monsegur, "I took eighty or a hundred soldiers, and went round the walls; *et qui en sautait par-dessus il étoit mort.*[2] The slaughter lasted ten hours, and more, and we took only fifteen or twenty prisoners, whom we hung up; the King's officers and the Consuls having their chaperons round their necks,"—The streets and the walls were covered with dead bodies, and at Pamiers, forty women were killed at once by the Spanish reinforcements, who, under D. Louis de Carvajal, had joined Montluc. "Which made me angry," says he; "old soldiers ought not to kill women, *mais plusieurs mauvais garçons furent despechés, qui servoient à combler un puits qui estoit au château.*"[3] "The cruelty was excessive;" says the Hist. de Cinq Rois, "even to killing infants in the arms of their mothers, and the mothers after them."[4]

[1] Every body knew the way I took, for the trees on the road-side were hung with my colours.

[2] And those I made jump off were dead before they came to the bottom.

[3] But many a good for nothing fellow was killed, whose bodies served to fill up the castle-well.

[4] A letter from the Pope, the vicar and vice-gerent of *Christ*, to this ferocious savage, was well calculated to inflame the almost insane fanaticism in which his excesses originated, and is inserted to shew the spirit which actuated the then Catholic Church.

"Very noble and well-beloved son, health and the apostolical benediction! Having understood from several, and more especially from our beloved son Charles, Cardinal d'Armagnac, with what desire and very great affection thou dost defend the Catholic religion, and with what care and diligence thou dost strive to repress the vices of heretics, and to restore to its first state the observation of the Christian faith,—works of a most true Christian and Catholic, and, without doubt, excellent gifts conferred by heaven—we cannot, and we ought not to neglect to render thanks to God who has on thee conferred so clear and sovereign an understanding, and rejoice with all our heart at thy great piety. More especially congratulating thee because that, after

In Toulouse, during a bloody contest which lasted three days, and terminated by the defeat of the Hugonots, we find the members of the High Court of Justice issuing from the chamber of Parliament in their scarlet robes, and causing proclamation to be made in their presence, "That all good Catholics and faithful subjects of the King should take arms against those of the Religion; seize them dead or alive, pillage and slay without mercy." The proclamation is not confined to the town but circulated in the surrounding villages; and the Tocsin (*Tocseing* old French) sounding from every steeple of the city, and answered by the churches for three or four leagues round, gives the signal for indiscriminate slaughter. Toulouse at that time contained a very great number of persons attached to the Reform; of which immense multitudes perished upon this occasion. The prisons were filled instantly; many persons being murdered at the doors there being not places to contain them; the river in a few hours was covered with dead bodies, and the streets strewed with victims, flung from the windows, and despatched with stones or the arquebuss. The scene

having so happily fought under many kings and virtuous princes, and in so divers countries, thou art now called to maintain, with still greater glory, honour, and reputation, the war of the King of kings, Jesus Christ, and fight the fight of the Lord of lords. For this thou mayest assure thyself, that his eternal favour will never fail thee, seeing that so gloriously and triumphantly thou defendest his good cause. We know well that thou hast no need of our exhortation to persevere in and pursue what thou hast so happily begun, but that thou hast laid the foundation of thy virtue on the holy and ardent affection that thou hast for the honour and glory of God. And our persuasion cannot more excite thee to virtuous and honourable deeds than the deeds themselves, so excellent and illustrious, recently done by thee in imitation of our most illustrious and beloved son, the King of Navarre, and many other sovereigns and illustrious lords of France. And this is what we now signify to thee, in order that if before we have much loved, esteemed, and praised you for your excellent and magnanimous courage—your Christian good-will and holy affection towards God we may further incite thee thereto; and we declare that for this cause thou shalt find us, with the aid of God, ready to do in all things what shall be in our power. Given at Rome at St. Peter's, under the ring of the holy Fisherman. Of our Pontificate year the 3rd."

was concluded by the arrival of Montluc—"he came," he says, "*pour disposer de des méchans traitres à Dieu, au Roi, et à leur patrie.* We immediately began to do justice, and I never saw so many heads fly off their shoulders at once as on that day."[1]

In one instance alone did the proceedings of a Protestant chief rival those of the Catholics.[2] It was in Dauphiné where the Baron des Adrets, at the head of the Hugonots, emulated the savage Montluc. Des Adrets was a Catholic gentleman, whom personal resentment against the Duke de Guise, had driven to embrace the party of the Protestants—Enraged at what he considered an instance of unjust partiality on the part of the Duke, he had retired to his estates in Dauphiné, where Mouvans and Montbrun had relinquished the command to him.—He began with the assassination of La Motte Gondrin, who commanded in the province.[3]—He next proceeded to

[1] Mémoires de Montluc.

[2] Mémoires de Condé, tome iii. page 317. Beza, De Thou.

[3] Letter of Des Adrets to the Queen-Mother:—"Madame, All the people of this county of Dauphiné, and of the neighbouring provinces, as well gentlemen as others, have felt so much indignation at the captivity, wherein the majesty of the King and your own finds itself at present reduced, that we have all agreed, with arms in our hands, to deliver you from the dominion of those who by force and violence have usurped it, and to replace in your hands that administration which by every law, divine and human, belongs to you. And those of this country hearing I was at Lyons have prayed me to assist them, and have appointed me their chief in this praiseworthy and holy enterprise, in order to pursue the means the most expedient to conduct it to a happy termination. Madame, we came last Monday to this town, a good and notable troop of gentlemen, and others of this province, and found the people already much moved by the thoughts of the persecutions and outrages that they had long endured from M. de la Motte Gondrin, ennemi toute outré de religion, and advancement of the glory of God, who even two days before had miserably caused three men of ours to die. His house was besieged, and we could not hinder, but the people, thirsting for the blood of this man, killed him, of which, Madame, I would inform you, as is done more amply by the memoirs hereunto joined, &c. It remains for me now, Madame, to tell you that we hope in a few days to take the route to Paris, and to join all the other provinces of France,—who, compassionating the imprisonment of their King, are resolved to rescue him from the hands of the oppressors who detain him,—replace him in those of your Majesty, the legal guardian of his person and of his estate. Praying you,

Lyons, carrying slaughter and devastation on his way; the city was taken, mass abolished, the churches plundered, and the massacre of the Catholics was a horrid retaliation on the proceedings at Toulouse.—Des Adrets then entered Burgundy, where he was successfully opposed by Tavannes—and retiring to Dauphiné, completed the subjugation of the province, and was by the Parliament of Grenoble, appointed governor in the place of La Motte Gondrin. He demolished the convent of the Grande Chartreux, and afterwards entered les Forez, where he took the remarkably lofty tower of Maugiron. The garrison of this place were for the most part put to the sword, but some few were reserved, to afford the Baron after dinner, the diversion of making them leap from the top of the highest tower. One of these victims alone escaped. Three times did this man take the run preparatory to the fatal leap, and as often did he pause at the brink of the precipice; Des Adrets impatiently reproached him with his cowardice, in thus three times failing in resolution. "M. le Baron," said the man, turning to him with the greatest coolness, "*Quelque brave que vous soyez, je vous le donne en dix.*"[1]—Charmed with his presence of mind, Des Adrets spared him. Des Adrets justified his cruelty on the principle of reprisals, rendered necessary by the conduct of the Catholics, whose atrocities in that quarter were excessive. The recitals of De Thou are enough to make the blood run cold. At Limoges they inflicted every possible torment upon the Hugonot inhabitants, even to

Madame, very humbly to observe that we take arms only for this purpose—which, being effected according to our desire, we shall be always ready to depose them on the first command of your Majesty. Many may peradventure endeavour to persuade you of the contrary: Mais ma tête que je veux obliger en fera toujours foi du contraire, Madame, je supplie, &c. A Valence, ce 29 Avril, 1562."

[1] Brave as you are, I give you ten to try it in.

[2] De Thou.

roasting some alive by slow fires. The commander of the place was put into a cage of wood, and exposed to all the insults of the populace; after which he was put to death with inventions of torture only to be rivalled by the American savages. Des Adrets determined upon a system of reprisals, "being assured," as he said, "that the Catholics had ventured first to begin such enormities, having too easily persuaded themselves that no one would dare to pay them in kind." It is just to add, that far from receiving a letter of approbation from the leading divines of his party, as Montluc had done from the Pope, the proceedings of Des Adrets excited the detestation of all upon his side, and that he was at length on that account superseded, and, in great indignation at such treatment, went over to the Catholics.

In Champagne and Picardy, the disturbance was less than in the other provinces, the greater part of the Hugonots having joined the standard of Condé, at Orleans. But wherever the Catholics were the stronger in the towns, the same system of unsparing slaughter was pursued, and Amiens and Abbeville shared the fate of Sens.[1]

In Normandy the Hugonots made themselves masters of Rouen, Dieppe, Havre, and Bayeux;[2] in all these towns the Catholic religion was abolished, and the inhabitants who professed it disarmed or driven out. Rouen shut its gates against the Duke de Bouillon, though of the Protestant persuasion. The Parliament thought it prudent to abandon the place, and a Council was appointed in their stead. The King of Navarre, as Lieutenant-General, had convoked the Ban and arrière ban

[1] The Prince de Condé demanded justice for these massacres; but Garnier is not ashamed to say, that as he had not made a point, or had not credit enough, to prevent the Reformed from pillaging churches, and breaking images, even under his eyes, he had no right to complain. Garnier, Hist. de France.

[2] See Beza, De Thou, &c.

in the province; but the people in the principal towns tore the ordonnances in pieces, and refused to admit the King's messengers within their gates.

At Mans, Blois, and Tours, the same scenes were enacted. Almost the last city, which on this occasion raised the standard of revolt, was La Rochelle.

A considerable army had by this time assembled under the walls of Orleans. The charge held by D'Andelot, of Colonel-general of the French infantry, had enabled him to secure the majority of the Captains of the old French bands. The Colonels of the Churches, appointed with the approbation of Catherine, and through the instrumentality of Coligny, had long been employed in secretly enrolling numbers of those disbanded soldiers with which France literally swarmed. The Baron de Grammont brought up the Gascon bands—St. Auban those of Provence and Dauphiné. Thus constituted, the Hugonot army amounted to between 2 and 3,000 cavalry, and 6 and 7,000 infantry.

On the other hand, the Catholic chiefs found themselves at first in considerable embarrassment. The situation of every individual province seemed to call for the presence of a separate army—and they found it difficult to raise even one—strong enough to cope with that of the Prince, and to defend Paris. Their whole force consisted of some hasty levies of militia, such few regiments as had not been disbanded after the peace of Cateau, and the garrisons of Metz and Calais, which were withdrawn, and the defence of those important places committed to raw and inexperienced recruits. It was determined, without hesitation, to call in the aid of foreign mercenaries, and the Colonels Freulich and Count Rochendolf were dispatched, the one to the Swiss

Catholic Cantons, the other to Germany, to make levies of Swiss and lansquenets.[1] But such was the state of the finances, that even the funds to provide the bounty-money, and one month's pay in advance necessary for the enrolment of these bands, were with the greatest difficulty provided. The revenue was anticipated—treasure there was none—and the deposits made by the Clergy to defray their share of the debt, were not accessible, having been paid to a treasurer of their own. In this dilemma the Duke de Guise found his only resource in the devotion, or, properly, fanaticism of the Parisians. Proposals for a Joan were opened—the Cardinal de Lorraine, and the frère Iean de Han, preached incessantly in recommendation of ameasure—"so necessary for the salvation of religion," and with such effect, that the money, low as was public credit, was raised and was delivered to the two Colonels.

But to provide the means for carrying on the war was a difficulty yet unconquered, and the Triumvirs found themselves under the necessity of adopting measures yet more questionable, and of applying for aid to their allies, the Pope, the King of Spain, the Duke of Savoy, and the Italian princes — allies so profuse in their offers of assistance at the commencement of their enterprise, but which assistance it was now found must be purchased at the expense of concessions, equally dangerous and humiliating. The Duke of Savoy, in return for his neutrality, and for 4,000 Piedmontese troops which entered Dauphiné, demanded the restitution of the four places still held by the French in Savoy—alike the keys of his duchy, and the sole trophies retained by France of former victories. These were Turin, Triers, Chivas, and Villeneuve, which had all been fortified at an immense expense, and being now evacuated, and the fortifications imperfectly

[1] Garnier, De Thou, D'Aubigné, Beza, &c.

destroyed, served henceforward to defend the country they had been intended to control. The King of Spain was petitioned to contribute his assistance in money—nothing being wanted but funds to enlist innumerable soldiers in France—which measure also would have been doubly serviceable by obstructing the levies of the Prince—but Philip, whose object was interference, affected to consider the proposal as an insult to the Spanish army, and confined himself to dispatching 2,000 horse and 8,000 foot, maintained at his own expense, to join the Catholic forces. Some of the most valuable privileges of the Gallican Church were sacrificed to the Pope, in return for the paltry contribution of 2,000 crowns. The Legate was proceeding, in addition, to demand the dismissal of De l'Hôpital, but was stopped by the exclamations of Catherine, and this last degradation, though the dismissal afterwards took place, was spared to the government.

By means such as these was the army raised, with which the Triumvirs at length took the field. While their preparations were making, Catherine, who deprecated a rupture, and vainly flattered herself, that things might yet be restored to their former situation—and she, as arbiter between the parties, resume the authority she had lost—was indefatigable in her attempts at negotiation. De l'Ausespine, Vieilleville, Villars, were successively dispatched to Orleans, but their endeavours were ineffectual. The Hugonots persisted in demanding the Edict of January and the dismission of the Guises, as the price of their submission; while the Duke de Guise insisted upon the revocation of the Edict and the imposition of the Catholic oath of conformity, as the condition of his departure.

The Admiral, equally anxious with the Queen to avert an open rupture, the evil consequences of which he too

clearly anticipated, made at this time one final effort to soften the mind of the Constable, and recal him from his disgraceful alliances. The following letter bears date May the 6th, when the armies were preparing to march.[1]

"MONSEIGNEUR,

"Though the bearer of this letter solicited me much to write to you, when he first came unto me, yet it appeared to me useless so to do, fearing that my letters might prove as unacceptable, as those remonstrances which my brother M. le Cardinal de Chatillon and myself, have from time to time had the honour to make. I have, however, this time, been content to undertake it, having always loved, honoured, served, and respected you as a father; never wishing to remember things in you, which, from another, could not have been forgotten. For, though I might have all the right upon my side, I would be content to waive it rather than contest a point with you.

"My Lord, I entreat you to consider the troubles of this kingdom and the calamities into which it must inevitably fall, unless by the interference of God (*Si Dieu n'y met la main*). And I appeal to all just men to declare who are the real cause. And, for yourself, I entreat you to consider in whose hands you are; and whether those with whom you are now allied be not the same who have ever sworn and pursued your ruin and that of your whole house. I appeal to your experience during your imprisonment, and throughout the reign of the late King. The most able men may once be deceived, but to persist in error is contemptible.

"I entreat you, Sir, to consider whether the enmity those persons bear to my brothers and to myself, be not

[1] Mém. de Castlenau, additions of Le Laboureur.

chiefly on your account. At the beginning of the reign of Henry the Second, how well we were all together! It was your injuries, and the discontent you had reason to entertain against them, which alone divided us. I know not, Sir, whether you are the last to perceive that it is you who will be held responsible for the evils about to ensue; and that you are about to bequeath the detestation of all classes,—but more especially that of the nobility of this country,—as a lasting inheritance to your house: and this only that you may aggrandise enemies, whose greatness will be founded upon your own destruction, that of your connexions, and that of the principal nobility of the kingdom,—which, however, it must be confessed, before that can happen, will lie completely in ruins. For all this company here assembled have taken their resolution, that, as they have no wish to give law to the Roman Church, neither will they receive law from her.

"We have transmitted our proposals for the pacification of these troubles, by the Abbé St. Jean; but the answer we have received demonstrates that the *ratonière* (rat-trap) still exists, of which the Cardinal de Lorraine spoke, before the death of the late King. God will finally judge our several intentions, and I protest before him, not one of the company now in this town assembled, have taken arms either against the King and his authority, or against the members of the Roman Church; but solely to maintain the monarchy, and to defend those of our religion from violences committed, in defiance of the will and intention of the King and Queen and of the States-General of this kingdom.

"In conclusion, I beg you to consider, that it cannot be just to receive the law from those who are, in all respects, parties interested; and that we neither can nor will receive it, but from the King. Sir, your good judgment will re-

solve you better than I can; but I pray you to reflect, that among all the griefs which afflict myself and my brothers, the first is, to see you involved in such a confederacy. As for myself, having no object but the service of God and the King, I have found it easy to make my decision.

"*Monseigneur, je me recommande très humblement à votre bonne grace, et prie notre Seigneur vous garder en santé, très bonne vie et longue, votre très humble et très obéissant,*" "CHATILLON."

All attempts at negotiation proving vain, both armies at length took the field. The Triumvirs leaving Paris under the command of Brissac,[1] put themselves at the head of their forces, consisting of 4,000 cavalry, the flower of the French nobility, and 6,000 infantry, nominally commanded by the King of Navarre, but entirely directed by the Duke de Guise. No sooner had the intelligence reached Orleans, than the Prince and the Admiral quitted the city and formed an entrenched camp at Vassodun, about four leagues' distance, where they awaited the advance of the enemy, who came forwards in high spirits, and nothing was talked of but a battle. This event the Queen still sedulously laboured to prevent; she proposed a personal interview with Condé, confiding much in her own powers of persuasion, and more in the support her arguments would receive, from the approach of an army superior in numbers to his own. The place of conference was fixed at Thoury, in La Beauce, and the circumstances of this first meeting of the French gentlemen, since the fatal occasion which had divided them, are feelingly described by La Noue. It had been agreed that one hundred gentlemen armed with their lances should attend on either side; but that no other troops should approach within ten leagues of the place of meeting, and that

[1] Brissac had divided Paris into sections.—Garnier, De Thou, D'Aubigné.

thirty light horse of each party should, before the conference, clear the country, which was, indeed, to use La Noue's phrase—*rase comme la mer*.[1] At the hour appointed, the Queen arrived on horseback, accompanied by the King of Navarre, and was met by the Prince and the Admiral. While they discoursed together, the two attendant squadrons composed of the first noblemen of each army, halted some hundred paces from each other; the one commanded by the Maréchal de St. André, the other by the Count de la Rochefoucault. And now an affecting scene took place; nature for a moment resumed her rights. "After these gentlemen," says La Noue, who was present, "had for the space of half an hour stedfastly contemplated each other—one seeking with his eyes a brother, another an uncle, a cousin, a friend, an ancient companion—they asked leave to approach, which was granted with reluctance; for strong apprehension was entertained that they would fall to blows. But far were they from such feelings; on the contrary, there was nothing but salutations and embraces from men who could not forbear exchanging such marks of friendship with those formerly so closely united to them by the tenderest bonds of affection. And this in spite of the different colours each party bore; the troops attending upon the King of Navarre, being clothed in *casaques* of crimson velvet, with crimson banners; and those of the Prince de Condé, in white, with white banners. The Catholics, who thought the cause of the Religious lost—exhorted them to consider what they were about, and not plunge into this miserable and hopeless quarrel. They answered, war was as abhorrent to the Hugonots as it could possibly be to them;—but that it was the only means left to escape the fate of their slaughtered brethren. In short, all urged peace, and the

[1] Mém. de La Noue.

necessity of persuading the great ones to an understanding. While many standing apart, and considering these things more deeply, deplored the public discord, and the evils that must thence ensue. But when all at last began to recollect that should their chiefs not agree, these affectionate caresses must at one little signal be exchanged for bloody murders—when with visor lowered, and eyes blinded with fury, even the brother would not spare the brother—the tears sprang to their eyes. I was there on the side of the Religious, and I declare I had a dozen friends in the opposite party that I loved as my own soul, and who bore me an equal affection ; yet, honour and conscience would have engaged us all not to fall short of our obligations. . . . . Private friendships were warm then, but have since been deadened by the miseries which followed, and by the discontinuance of communication. . . . . In brief, the Queen and the Prince having conferred about two hours, separated without coming to any agreement, and all the rest retired extremely sorrowful that there had resulted no better effect."

The terms of this negotiation having been communicated to the Council of Union at Orleans, the Prince wrote to the Queen that it was impossible to come to an understanding unless the Triumvirs retired. The old answer was returned, that the Protestants must first lay down their arms. These negotiations were in fact only a repetition of proposals which the commonest prudence forbade the Hugonots to accept.[1]

The King of Navarre had treated Condé with the harshest severity at the conference. The Prince was deeply wounded by this unkindness,[2] and the following letter acccompanied his answer to the Queen-Mother's proposals. It is dated June 13, 1562.

[1] Beza, Hist. des Eglises. [2] Mém. de Condé.

"Sir,—Though I have long anticipated the disasters now fast approaching, yet, I confess, the reality far exceeds any expectation I had formed. My conviction of the innocence of the Reformed Churches, of your own good dispositions, and of the rectitude of my own actions, had persuaded me, that when you compared the authors of these troubles with me who have the honour to be your brother—and whose entire obedience you have till now experienced—you would be moved to listen to the claims of natural affection rather than to the persuasions and artifices of those who can alone maintain themselves by the ruin of you and yours. In fact, Sir, I have not yet lost this hope, however unfavourable appearances may be, and this has led me to write this present, *plutôt avec larmes de mes yeux qu'avec l'encre de ma plume*,[1] For what can by possibility happen to me more grievous in this world, than to see *him* bearing down upon me with lance in rest, for whose safety and honour I could peril my life against the universe; and to believe that you would seek the life of one, who draws it from the same source as yourself—and who never has spared—and never wishes to spare it either to save or serve you!

"Sir, consider, I pray you, if you please, what are the occasions which move you to so strange a proceeding. If it be on account of religion—what man can judge better than yourself, whether ours be such as that, upon that score, all the rights of nature, equity, and humanity are to be towards us less regarded than towards the most execrable of mankind? If your conscience cannot approve of the articles of our faith, still less can your nature, I feel assured, approve of the extreme cruelties exercised against us—much less suffer you to become their chief and principal author. If the state and great-

[1] Rather with tears than with ink.

ness of the crown be urged against us, whom, Sir, after you and your descendants, does that concern more than myself? Judge, if you please, who regards them most, he who offers to submit to every thing reasonable, provided the authors of these troubles absent themselves? or those who would expose all to ruin . . . . rather than restore that peace by their absence, which, by their presence, they have destroyed? . . . . . And say, should they succeed in their design of ruining and defeating those who oppose them, reflect in what security this crown will then stand of which you are Lieutenant-General.

"Are your own greatness and reputation in question? Remember who, but two years ago, sought to deprive you at once both of them and of life! Whether they be changed since, I know not, and time will shew . . . . but, Sir, you must allow me to doubt how *they* can be your friends, who have, for the second time, seeking your brother's destruction, endeavoured to make you the instrument of their ill-will.

"Now, Sir, this I have said, in the hope that either through affection for me, or at least from regard to the honour of God and welfare of your country, you will well reflect upon these things before you take arms against one, who is by natural duty your second self—and who, by the grace of God, will never fail in this duty,—and who would rather embrace death than behold the issue of this combat, on whichever side victory may incline.

"But, if instead of listening to reason, the authors of our miseries persist in their designs—unrestrained by that authority which it has pleased God to bestow upon you; then, gentlemen, we hope, by the aid of him whose honour we maintain, to see such a termination as may teach them the value of such enterprises and such counsels,—and give you reason to estimate not only my affection,

but that of all this company, which, after God and the Majesty of the King and Queen, is entirely dedicated to you."

This appeal appears to have had considerable effect both upon Navarre and upon the Queen-Mother, and in consequence, the conferences were renewed at Talcy. They served, however, but to prove the ill-faith of the Triumvirs—to confirm in the Hugonots the distrust that was beginning to be felt against the Queen-Mother, and finally to convince them[1] "that words were a remedy too feeble for the present evils;" or, as D'Andelot said, "*Que tant de parlemens ne sont que piperies, le meilleur remède pour être d'accord est nous mener à demie lieue d'eux. Car nous ne serons jamais bons amis que nous n'ayons un peu escrimé ensemble.*"[2]

It was resolved, therefore, the truce having expired, to march that very night, and surprise the royal camp at Talcy, from which the Triumvirs were at that time absent, and where Navarre alone was in command. Accordingly, public prayers having been made "according," says La Noue, "to the custom at that time among the Religious, the army marched upon this magnanimous enterprise, with an ardour which I never saw equalled."

The Admiral commanded the advance (*avant garde*), consisting of 800 lances, 2,000 arquebusiers, and two large bodies of pikemen. The Prince followed with the main body (*bataille*), consisting of 1,000 horse, and the remainder of the arquebuserie; the whole force might be in amount about half that of the Catholic army. They had calculated upon reaching the enemies' quarters about three o'clock in the morning, but their guides misled them,

[1] Mém de La Noue.

[2] That all these parlementations are nothing but swindling baits, and that we shall never be agreed till we are brought within half a league of each other, and have had a good scrimmage together.

[3] Mém. de La Noue.

their march was retarded, and an hour after sun-rise, they were still a league from the enemy. Convinced, by the continual firing of the artillery, that their design was discovered by the royal army, they halted, and finally abandoned an enterprise, which, but for this unfortunate accident, would in all probability have been completely successful. The two armies remained the greater part of that day in presence—in battle-array; in the evening, the Prince retired to Langres, a short league's distance, and the King of Navarre sent immediate orders to the Triumvirs to join.

The next day the armies again faced each other, and some slight skirmishing ensued, but the positions they occupied being equally dangerous to both parties, "and there being," says La Noue, "a sort of necessity upon each, to take some of the adjacent towns in order to carry on the war, they separated, as if by mutual consent. The Catholics marched to attack Blois—the Hugonots to recover Beaugency, of which they had been fraudulently deprived by a breach of promise on the part of Navarre, and which was important, as being the only town in the possession of the Triumvirs which commanded a passage over the Loire. Both towns were taken, and at both, great disorders were committed; at Beaugency, the town was pillaged, and the *garrison*, but the garrison alone, put to the sword. Blois surrendered to the Duke de Guise. The place was immediately evacuated, and the inhabitants made no resistance, yet was the town sacked, the Protestants in it slaughtered or drowned without mercy, their women brutally outraged and then murdered. From Blois the royal army proceeded to *Mer*, where the same barbarities were renewed, the carnage was dreadful, and the pillage lasted nine days. These cruelties occasioned the most extreme pain

to Condé, and he wrote to the King of Navarre to complain of them, but received for answer, "that war obliged men to tolerate disorders."

Thus was the sword drawn from the scabbard, and the contest so anxiously deprecated, began in all its horror. But the excesses of military violence, dreadful as they are, must, by their very nature, be limited in extent, and modified by numerous circumstances; it remained for the more reflective wickedness of a grave, legal body, to fill the measure of sorrow and iniquity, and complete the miseries of France.

On the 13th of June, that fatal arrêt was published by the Parliament of Paris,—Le Maitre being First President, which, it may safely be said, has been never exceeded, and rarely paralleled, in the sanguinary annals of human legislation. By it the whole Protestant population was, by one stroke of the pen, proscribed, and all Catholics commanded to arm in every parish, and at the sound of the tocsin to *courir sus*, and kill their fellow-citizens and neighbours without mercy, and without fear of being called to any account. By this horrible edict, one half of the population was at once armed against the other, and every corner of the kingdom filled with blood.

Then, in the rural villages, till now living in peaceful seclusion, ignorant of the crimes and the miseries around them, might be heard the clang of the dreadful bell, summoning to indiscriminate slaughter.[1]

Then might be heard from Christian pulpits, on every sabbath day, the dreadful arrêt read by the pastor to his congregation, which commanded them to massacre and pillage their unoffending brethren, neighbours, and acquaintances; whilst thus exhorted, the

[1] D'Aubigné, De Thou.

peasantry abandoned their labours, and gave themselves up without remorse, to all the excitements of robbery, slaughter, and every species of outrage. Headed by the most brutal and violent of their, then, ignorant and semi-barbarian class, they divided themselves into parties, wandering over the country, and carrying desolation wherever they went.

At Ligneul-sur-Indre, one of these parties, after strangling some of the inhabitants, put out the eyes of the minister, and then burnt him at a slow fire.

At Cormeri, Loches, and Aye, they exercised the most horrible cruelties, not only against the Hugonots, but against all whose doctrine was in the least suspected. Men of rank were not ashamed to assist in such atrocities; and even the poet Ronsard, whose sweet verses had charmed the leisure of Mary Stuart, and delighted all the accomplished of his age, might be seen heading an infuriated mob, signalised by its sanguinary barbarity.

*De-là commencèrent toutes sortes de sacriléges, voleries, assassinats, paillardises, incestes, avec un licence débordée de mal faire,* says Castlenau; "50,000 persons are said to have perished in these disorders," but it is evident that it was impossible that anything like an adequate calculation could be made.

I feel that I may expose myself to censure in this age of refinement for admitting the relation of so many horrors into my work. I can only say it is as painful to write as it can be to read them; but the truth of history is a sacred thing. The only matter which has all along made me uneasy has been the fear lest, out of regard to the humane feelings of modern times, I may have too much softened the details of the awful picture,

[1] Mem. de Castlenau. De Thou. D'Aubigné Histoire Universelle. Beza Hist. des Eglises.

and done injustice to a theme which, exposed in its terrible truth, would have been insupportable. Deep as the colouring I have employed may appear, it gives but a faint representation of the ferocity of the times. It may be thought perhaps by some that this relation is made in a spirit of hostility to the Catholic church. I repel the imputation—I will yield to no man in that respect for liberty of conscience, which claims brotherhood with every member of the Christian body; and the grand Roman Catholic church, with all her sins upon her head, I can still reverence for her antiquity, and for the pious martyrs and confessors who have adorned her annals—but I raise my feeble voice and call upon that church to account to the world for her stewardship, and to tell us, what—during the long succession of centuries in which the dispensation of Christian truth had to her alone been committed—she had effected for mankind. To tell us why the Reformation found society in a state which the historian shudders to describe? Was it—or was it not,—because, arrogating to herself to be wise above what was written, she had separated her children from their Lord and Master, by withholding his Gospel word—and passing that light which was to illuminate the earth through a medium of her own—which obstructed and distorted its beams. Let us pause a moment to reflect upon the result. Let us contrast the advancement made in knowledge, humanity, morality, during the short period which has elapsed *since* the Reformation — with the progress made in the long course of years *before!* The barbarity of the sixteenth with the refinement, imperfect as it is, of the present century. Let us compare the state of countries now actually existing—according as they lie under the discipline of one or the other system; Spain and Eng-

land—Scotland and Ireland. The Revolution as carried out in France—or our own, though effected a century and a half earlier! Contrast the proceedings of Elizabeth of England, and Philip the Second of Spain, at the same period, and in pursuit of much the same objects.

Ought not the Roman Catholic church to ponder these things? To reflect upon the many centuries when she had the Christian world under her sole direction, and ask herself what society had become? She must claim no credit for the improvement since, for she has still persevered in the endeavour to keep the general mind in ignorance, and retain the key of knowledge in her own hands.

Deeply impressed with the picture, I have, alas! too faintly delineated, I raise my feeble ineffectual voice, and beseech her to *Reform herself.* If general report lie not, one bearing a liberal and noble spirit now, by the blessing of God, is invested with the triple crown,—Let all enlightened Catholics support his efforts—may they shake off the yoke under which they have so long laboured, and suffer themselves to be blinded no longer. Let them labour to enlighten and educate their members, especially their inferior members. Let them review and consider their own history.—Not, indeed, as represented by their own historians, who have in so many instances furnished a fresh example of that sacrifice of truth to expediency which has been the bane of the Roman system—but as displayed in the *facts* of the case—which, if they will dare to inquire, they may easily learn, and draw their own conclusions.

Oh! that this artless pen had power!—not to excite Catholic and Protestant to hate and despise each other—God forbid!—but to teach the Protestant to cling to the noble prerogative of his calling—liberty of conscience

for *all!*—and the Catholic to reflect and compare. Oh! that Ireland, in all the perplexity of her affairs,—miserably increased by the wretched education her Catholic population have been receiving at the hands of their priests, might be the first to profit by a new and better system.

I entreat the indulgence of my reader for this short interruption of my narration. The subject has been forced upon my reflection by the enquiries necessary to my undertaking, and I hold myself responsible to a Higher Power for the expression of my own earnest convictions—insignificant as my convictions may be to others. This earnestness may also plead my excuse if, in my fear to injure my cause by omissions, I have at times repeated myself.

## CHAPTER IX.

SIEGE OF ROUEN.—DEATH OF NAVARRE.—NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE GERMAN PRINCES.—GERMAN AUXILIARIES ARRIVE IN FRANCE.

"When this war began," says La Noue, "the chiefs and captains in the Hugonot army, still recollected the fine military order which prevailed in the wars of Francis and Henry, his son: the soldiers, too, retained the memory of it, which kept them to their duty; and still more power had the continual remonstrances and preachings of their ministers, who admonished them not to employ their arms for the oppression of the poor people. The zeal of religion was then strong among them, so that without constraint each one was held by himself in subjection,—more especially the nobility, who shewed themselves worthy of the name they bore—for, marching through the country, they neither pillaged nor ill-treated their hosts, contenting themselves with little, and they who had means, paying honestly. No one was seen flying before them from the villages; no cries nor complaints were heard, in short, *c'étoit un désordre bien ordonné.*

"If a crime were committed in any troop, the guilty person was banished or delivered into the hands of justice; his very companions would not intercede for him, so great was their detestation of wickedness, and love of virtue. In the camp of Vassodun, where the Prince de Condé remained fifteen days, the infantry displayed the same sentiments.

"I remarked three or four notable things in the Hugo-

not army, First, throughout this great multitude, the name of God was never blasphemed. Second, not a pair of dice or a pack of cards in the camp. Third, no women accompanying. Fourth, no pillaging or foraging, each being content with his allowance of provisions. Lastly, evening and morning when guard was changed, public prayers were made, and the singing of psalms resounded through the camp, in all which matters we cannot but remark a spirit of piety unusual in those accustomed to war.

"Many were astonished at this fine order, and I remember my brother, M. de Teligny and myself, discoursing with M. l'Amiral, applauded it much. 'It is a fine thing,' said he, '*moyennant qu'elle dure*, but I fear this people will soon be tired of their virtue, *de jeune hermite, vieux diable.*[1] I know the French infantry well, and if the proverb fail, *nous ferons la croix à la cheminée.*' We laughed then, but experience shewed he was prophetic."

La Noue goes on to remark, "how even so early as the taking of Beaugency, a decline of discipline was perceptible, the inhabitants were cruelly pillaged, and this example was followed on other occasions." He adds in his quaint way, "thus was born, Mademoiselle de la Picorée (pillage), who has since risen in dignity. She is now Madame, and if these things continue, will speedily become Princesse .... the evil soon became general, increasing till the whole body was infected, though M. l'Amiral spared no pains to remedy it, for he was *impitieux*, and none need expect, by frivolous excuses, to escape, if guilty, for they were worth nothing to him."

This decline in morals was not confined to the army alone, and violence and crime, if we may believe Catholic

[1] Mém. de la Noue, Beza, Castlenau.

historians, soon diffused themselves among the general Hugonot population.

After the capture of Blois, the success of the Catholic arms was rapid and decisive. Tours, Bourges, Angers, Poictiers, with numerous other towns, were recovered, and the Hugonots found themselves deprived of most of their conquests as suddenly as they had been acquired. Large bodies of Swiss and German mercenaries had by this time joined the royal army; so that the Prince, finding it impossible to keep the field before a force so greatly his superior, was constrained to retire within the walls of Orleans.

Here he found himself exposed to all those vexatious annoyances that await the leader of a volunteer army. His forces, small as they were, rapidly diminished; the first excitement over, the ardour of his followers began to abate; and when they discovered, that, in place of a rapid and brilliant termination of their efforts, they must prepare for a long and tedious war, discontents and murmurs filled the camp.[1] An arrêt of the parliament of Paris, published about this time, increased the general dissatisfaction, and at one moment threatened to dissolve the Union. With the exception of the Prince de Condé, who, it was pretended, was forcibly detained in the Hugonot camp, the chiefs of the party were one and all arraigned; and no one appearing in their behalf, were

[1] The plague was at this time raging at Orleans, and carried off numbers of the poor fugitives, who, driven from their pillaged and burning houses, had taken refuge there. Beza says ten thousand persons perished, but very few of the soldiers. A general fast and humiliation was ordered by the ministers; upon which, he affirms, the plague almost immediately ceased, so that, on the 7th of November, there was not a sick person in the town. The pestilence was not confined to Orleans; at the hospital of the Hôtel Dieu alone, at Paris, more than eighty thousand persons, he says, died. "Comme si Dieu eut voulu menacer le royaume d'une totale ruine, frappant ainsi sur les uns et les autres." I can find no account of the nature of the sickness, nor of the weather during this summer of 1562. — Beza, Hist. des Eglises.

condemned, and with them every individual now in arms against the King, as "rebels, enemies of God and the King, disturbers of the public peace, &c." As such, their property was confiscated, and all officers of justice commanded to seize upon their possessions wheresoever they might be found—those only being excepted from the sentence, who immediately laying down their arms, should accept the letters of absolution then published, and be content with liberty of conscience and the private exercise of their religion. The effects of this measure were soon discernible. Numbers of the gentlemen who surrounded the Prince, terrified at the prospect of losing their estates, demanded permission to retire, or left the camp without it: others began to express doubts as to the justice of the cause in which they were engaged, and the spirit of disaffection spread so rapidly, that the Prince thought it prudent to dismiss the greater part of his officers. Under pretence of assisting in the defence of their respective provinces, he let them depart while he, with the Admiral, the Council of Union, and a few noblemen, remained in Orleans. "Certainly," says La Noue, "there is no little difficulty in managing volunteers. It is a burden hard to be borne, and which often weighs down the strongest, *nul le scait qui ne l'a prouvée*."

It does not appear, however, that either the Prince or the Admiral despaired of a successful issue. It was usual for the gentlemen, who composed the most effective part of armies in that age, to retire frequently on leave to their estates, to look after their domestic concerns, collect fresh funds, and, after a certain time, reassemble at an appointed place of rendezvous. The state of their affairs, however, compelled them, though very reluctantly, to follow the example of the Triumvirs, and seek the aid of their foreign friends and allies, so as to

render their army effective when it should once more be collected together, and for this purpose D'Andelot was dispatched to solicit aid from the German princes, and Briquemaut, to our Queen Elizabeth.

Elizabeth, for whatever cause, was throughout this whole contest very sparing in her supplies to her Hugonot friends, and England and France being now at peace, she hesitated long before she would enter into any negotiation with them, whatsoever; but at length persuaded by Throckmorton, and tempted by the offer of Havre and Dieppe as pledges for such monies as she might advance, (the possession of which she trusted to make the means of recovering Calais, still so dearly prized by the English nation,) she consented to pay in different instalments, 140,000 crowns, and to transport 6,000 men into Normandy,—3,000 of which to form the garrison of Havre, the remainder to be divided between Rouen and Dieppe. The money thus obtained was of infinite service, as it enabled the Prince to complete his levies in Germany: but no proceeding could by possibility have rendered the Hugonots more odious to the nation at large, than thus being the means of once more giving to the dreaded English a footing in France.

After the fall of Bourges there was a consultation in the royal camp, whether to attack Orleans or march to the relief of Normandy, before the English forces should have arrived. The former enterprise being considered as too difficult, it was resolved to besiege Rouen; and the army, whose proceedings were now authorised by the actual presence of the King and the Queen-Mother, sat down before the place, September 28th. The Duke de Montpensier having before this time received a commission as Commander-in-Chief of the provinces beyond the Loire, he proceeded there with a considerable force; and the

Maréchal de St. André was dispatched into Champagne to oppose the passage of D'Andelot, with his German levies.

It was about this time that the Cardinal de Lorraine, who had continued to exercise a great and most pernicious influence over the councils of France, left the country to assist at the Council of Trent,[1]—once more assembled at the almost universal desire of christendom, in the fallacious expectation that some confession of faith might be agreed upon, which harmonising differing opinions, might again unite the great majority, at least, of the Churches, in one common belief. It is unnecessary to say that such an expectation proved groundless. Universal ignorance or a sceptical indifference would appear, upon the subject of religious dogmas, a necessary condition of universal conformity—but the attempt at conciliation was not even made. The time was spent in intrigues, quarrels, and chicane, and the results proved as unsatisfactory as the beginnings had been unpromising.[2]

The siege of Rouen is celebrated—the place was defended with great spirit by Montgommeri, who, leaving Orleans at the time of the general dissolution of the army, had entered Normandy with a small body of soldiers, and after a series of brilliant successes, had thrown himself into the town, with 1,500 English commanded by the Lord Grey. The garrison consisted in all but of 15,000 soldiers of the *vieilles bandes*, about 600 cavalry, and the *milices bourgeoises;* amid the ranks of which, such was the general excitement, women might be found armed and fighting.

Rouen, whose magnificent streets of towering antique

[1] Bèza gives this reason for his absenting himself at this juncture—Etant un des plus *couards* hommes du monde, et voyant les choses se preparer au hasard d'une bataille, il aimoit mieux se tenir à l'écart qu'en approcher plus près.

[2] Fra Paolo Istoria di Concilio.

timber houses still attest its ancient importance, was then considered, after Paris, the richest town in France.[1] It was the great mart of commerce for the northern provinces, and its ruin would entail that of innumerable mercantile houses in various parts of the kingdom. On these accounts, the Queen and the Duke de Guise were alike anxious to save it from the pillage consequent upon an assault, but nothing would persuade the inhabitants to submission. In vain the Duke de Guise carried the deputies from the town to view the mines, now in a state of readiness, and the effect of which was unquestionable; all terms were refused with the utmost contempt, except such as were founded upon those so often offered by the Prince—and on the 13th of October the assault was commanded. The Duke headed his men in person, who, animated by his brilliant courage, "did wonders," says Brantôme, "*et emportèrent la place bravement.*"[2] Standing on the breach, he recommended three things to his soldiers, "*L'honneur des dames,*—the lives of all good Catholics,—and no quarter for the English, the enemies of France."

The defence was desperate but vain, and Montgommeri seeing the town lost, mounted a galley with all his officers and what remained of the English, and escaped to Havre.

Rouen became a prey to the violence of the soldiers who dispersed themselves through the place pillaging and slaughtering without mercy, regardless of the commands and exhortations of the Duke who hurried from street to street, vainly endeavouring to arrest the disorder. On this occasion, a scene described by Brantôme, gives us some idea of the modes of feeling and action in this remarkable man, and of that conduct which rendered him the general idol of the French army. Passing hastily along, he met St. Colombe, (who had by his own request,

[1] Garnier. De Thou. [2] Hommes Illust., Vie Guise.

led the forlorn-hope,) mortally wounded, and carried in a chair, supported by his soldiers. The Duke flew to him, took him in his arms, and *with many tears* besought him to take courage, for all would yet be well, and he should live to receive the recompense of his bravery. "Ah, Monsieur," replied St. Colombe, "all is over with me, but I die content, since you are satisfied. Preserve your rewards for my companions, they deserve them." The Duke liberally rewarded those thus recommended.[1]

The pillage lasted eight days, "without regard to either one religion or the other," says Brantôme.

Three days before the assault, Anthony of Navarre was struck in the trenches by a ball, which entered his shoulder; he was carried in great agony to his quarters, where it was found impossible to extract the ball. The wound, however, speedily closed, and was not considered dangerous. The King amused himself by witnessing the games and dances of the young people in his chamber, his present mistress, La Belle Rouet, being seated by his side—his conversation as usual dwelling upon his extravagant prospects,[2] and wearying all who visited him with his perpetual theme, the riches and beauty of Sardinia. When the town was taken he insisted upon sharing the triumph, and was carried in his litter through the breach, in a sort of procession preceded by martial music. The heat and excitement inflamed the wound, and serious apprehensions were soon entertained for his safety. His danger appears to have changed at once the whole tenor of his thoughts; he perceived too late the treacherous intentions of Spain, and the folly of his late conduct; and he wrote earnestly to his Queen, conjuring her to look well to herself, and provide for the security of her little kingdom. The terrors of conscience succeeded to

[1] Brantôme, Hommes Illustres, Guise. [2] De Thou.

these anxieties, "he retired within himself," says De Thou, "examining his past life with care, and repenting, too late, that he had sacrificed his religion to the aggrandisement of his kingdom," and declaring to a gentleman who came to visit him from the Prince de Condé, that if he lived it should be to re-establish the Reform. The last few days were spent in all the humiliation of abject fear. De Thou draws a curious picture of him attended by two physicians, the one Catholic the other Reformed, receiving the viaticum from the hands of a priest introduced by the first, and listening to portions of the Book of Job, and to the prayers recited by the second. He died upon the 17th of November, with his son's name upon his lips, leaving him to reap for his best inheritance, the bitter fruits of his father's baseness.[1]

His death, which a few short months before might have saved the kingdom, now produced little sensation. The Duke de Guise, at the head of a devoted and victorious army, no longer required the support of his name or authority. While the Prince de Condé, as chief of a party proscribed as rebels and enemies of the State, profited little by the rights which, as first Prince of the blood, devolved upon him.[2] He, however, assumed the title of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom; but, in the present hostile state of public opinion, it availed him nothing. By the Queen-Mother alone was Navarre regretted; who looked upon him as a sort of check upon the power of the Triumvirs, whose encroachments became every day more alarming.[3]

[1] The King of Navarre, among his other strangely assorted qualities, had, it is said, such a propensity for thieving, that it was usual with his attendants to empty his pockets during the night; and, inquiring with whom he had spent the day, restore their contents to the right owners.

[2] Abbé Perau, Vie de Coligny.

[3] The executions of Mandeville, Malorat, and De Croix, persons eminent both in their own legal profession, in arms, and theology, were the judicial acts of cruelty which stained the conquest of Rouen.—De Thou, Garnier.

While the Catholic army was thus pursuing its advantages, the Prince and the Admiral, cooped up in Orleans, beheld on all sides a series of reverses. A re-action almost universal had followed the first brilliant success of their party; Tavannes in Burgundy had defeated Montbrun; a large reinforcement which the Count de Duras was bringing up from Guyenne, had been overthrown by Montluc at Ver; Provence and Dauphiné presented pictures of universal slaughter and desolation; and Brissac had obtained great advantages in the neighbourhood of Lyons. Between the rivers Seine and Loire, the Hugonots lost numerous towns, as well as in Brittany, Picardy, and Normandy; these disasters served still further to cool the zeal of the party; "and were the cause, says La Noue,[1] why many Hugonot gentlemen and soldiers retired to the King's camp, where they were very well received, and obtained letters of pardon, "*lettres de pardon.*"[2]

[1] Mém. de La Noue.

[2] At the siege of Rouen, a series of accidents so extraordinary happened to a private gentleman, that they have been preserved in all the principal histories of the time;* their singularity leads me to insert them here. François de Civile, a gentleman in the neighbourhood, was among those who defended the town. Standing in the rampart, he was wounded by a ball, which, entering the right cheek, penetrated the neck, and he fell insensible over the wall into the ditch, where some soldiers thinking him dead, after stripping, buried him with another body, which was laid uppermost. Thus he lay covered with earth from eleven in the morning to half-past six in the evening. His faithful servant, hearing of his death, requested permission to search for the body of his master, and give it a more honourable burial. After drawing the first body from the earth, he proceeded to examine the other, but was unable to recognise the face, disfigured as it was by wounds, blood, and soil; he therefore threw the bodies again into the ditch, and covering them lightly with earth, left one hand accidently exposed. Looking back as he went away, he saw the hand, and, fearing the dogs might disinter the remains to which it belonged, he returned with design to cover it more completely, when he beheld a diamond which Civile had been accustomed to wear shining in the moonlight on one of the fingers. He now drew his master from the grave, wiped the blood from his face, and as he kissed it with the utmost affection, perceived warmth yet remaining; he carried the body immediately to the surgeons; but they, looking on him as quite dead, were regardless of his servant's entreaties, and refused their assistance in attempting to restore animation. The servant, however, convinced that life was not extinct,

* De Thou, Varillas, D'Aubigné.

The last hopes of the party rested upon D'Andelot, who having succeeded in his negotiations with the German princes, was now approaching the frontiers with the succours thus obtained; and the question whether he would make good his passage, and succeed in leading them up to Orleans, was the incessant subject of conversation between Coligny and the Prince. I remember, says La Noue, hearing them discourse upon these things; the Admiral would say, "That one misfortune is commonly followed by another, but that they must abide the third adventure, (meaning the passage of his brother,) which would restore, or, if it failed, ruin all."

It was resolved, should things come to the worst, that, leaving the Admiral to stand a siege, the Prince should

carried his master to the house where he had been formerly quartered. Here he lay five days and five nights without speaking, moving, or giving sign of life; mais aussi ardent de fièvre qu'il avoit eté froid dans sa tope. At the end of this time two physicians and a surgeon visited him; the wound was dressed, his teeth were separated, and a few spoonfuls of nourishing broth swallowed. The next day, after a considerable discharge from the wound, speech and sensation returned; he complained of pain, and had the appearance of one suddenly roused from profound slumber, and without the slightest recollection of any circumstance that had occurred. Thus he lay consumed by fever, but giving hopes of recovery, when the town was taken by assault; and, in the subsequent confusion, being mistaken for another man, some ruffians dragged him from his sick bed, and he was flung out of the window. He fell upon a dunghill, and the window not being high, received little injury. Here he continued to lie three times twenty-four hours in his shirt, exposed to all the injuries of the air without the slightest assistance. An old friend at last inquired for him, and was told he was lying dead on the dunghill. He found him still breathing, though too weak to speak, and making signs of great thirst. Drought and pain had, indeed, entirely dried his lips and tongue. Some beer was given him which he drank greedily; but attempting to swallow bread, the morsel was obliged to be drawn from his throat, the passage of which was nearly closed. Abstinence and cold appeared to have had, however, a favourable effect upon his wound and fever, and he was able to be carried by water from Rouen, and being properly assisted recovered. I saw him, says D'Aubigné, deputy for Normandy, at the National Assembly, forty-two years after his wound. I observed that he always added to his signature,—"François de Civile trois fois mort, trois fois enterré, et trois fois par la grace de Dieu resuscité;" he adds, "the ministers (for what reason it would be hard to divine) endeavoured vainly to make him give up this addition to his signature."

De Thou relates the story very circumstantially; Civile being still living at the time he wrote his history.

secretly traverse France, and himself endeavour to obtain fresh assistance from the German princes; "But while they deliberated on these things, news was brought that M. d'Andelot, having overcome the principal difficulties of his expedition, had arrived within thirty leagues of Orleans,—and, in addition to this, that the Count de la Rochfoucault, with the remains of the army of Duras and three hundred gentlemen, was likewise on his road to join them. "Now," said the Prince, "they have given us numerous bad checks, and have taken our rooks (*rocs Bourges et Rouen*); the next move we will be in the field, and have their knights." The good news was received with their usual gaiety by his army—"*Il ne faut pas demander si chacun sautoit et rioit en Orleans, car c'est coutume de gens de guerre.*"[1]

D'Andelot had found considerable difficulty in the conduct of his negotiations, and had been mainly indebted for his success to the exertions of Spifame, late Bishop of Nevers, and now, "a minister of the word of God," as Beza calls him—A man of very great abilities, *qui n'avait faute d'esprit, ni de langue, ni d'expérience*—he having been maître de requêtes, president des enquêtes in the Parliament, and finally chancellor to the Queen-Mother.

Intelligence having been received that, during the month of November in this year, there was to be a grand assembly of the Princes of the empire at Frankfort, to meet the Emperor Ferdinand, and proceed to the coronation of his son as King of the Romans; and that the Triumvirate had sent the Sieur de Rambouillet as their ambassador there; the Prince had dispatched Spifame in the same capacity.

He began his negotiations by presenting a Confession of Faith of the French Churches, in order at once to

[1] Mém. de La Noue.—Beza, Hist. des Eglises.

silence the injurious reports that had been spread, through the agency of the Duke de Guise, as to the nature of their opinions—rebut the charge of blasphemy and heresy, and endeavour to set at rest the jealousies which had been fomented between the followers of Calvin and those Protestants who adhered to the Confession of Augsburg.

The paper is inserted at large in Beza's History of the Churches, and is remarkably able. Explaining with singular clearness the doctrine of the Churches, and defending it with an equal union of firmness and moderation. I will only insert one sentence, as it is not the purpose of this work to enter in the slightest degree into an examination of the dogmas held by the different parties in this great contest.

He is speaking of the doctrine of transubstantiation, and of the reproach of subjecting divine things to the investigation of reason, which was urged by the Roman Church against them—and after explaining how far, according to their view, the limits of reasoning extended, concludes with—"*Donc il assert que le blâme qu'aucuns nous donnent n'est que calomnie; c'est à dire que nous mésurons la puissance de Dieu selon nos sens, à la façon des philosophes.—Helas! toute notre philosophie est de recevoir en simplicité ce que l'écriture nous montre.*" This paper being presented was followed by three harangues. One of which was made before the Emperor himself, where Spifame, in support of his assertions, exhibited the four letters of Catherine to the Prince, requesting that the seal of the Empire might be affixed to them, to serve as a testimony to all posterity; which was done.

The two other harangues were delivered, one to the King of the Romans in his Privy Chamber, and the other before all the Princes of the Empire. They were much of the same tenor.—An abstract only has been preserved

by Beza, which, however, contains so luminous a *resumé* of the true grounds of this unhappy quarrel, that my sense of justice, at the risk of wearying the reader, obliges me to insert it here.

He began with saying that though common report had carried the relation of the troubles and tumults of France throughout Europe—nevertheless that his Majesty the Emperor (whom he knew to be acknowledged as holding the highest dignity in all the world) might not be misled by the misrepresentations of those who endeavoured to colour these things to their own advantage—the Prince de Condé had greatly desired to explain to his Majesty and to the King of Bohemia, his son, as well as to all the Princes of the Holy Empire, the truth of the things which had taken place—hoping that the minority of the King, and the extreme misery of his subjects, might move them to take this cause in hand.

He then said, that though it was no new thing for the kingdom of France to fall into the hands of children in their minority—nevertheless, it had never been seen that there was debate or dispute with regard to the government; because that question had been always immediately settled by the States-General, who, in such cases, possessed great authority—in order that, by their advice and consent, it might be concluded who during the minority of the King, should have the administration of his affairs, and the possession of his person.

That it was true, when the King, Charles the Sixth, had been deprived of his reason, France had been agitated by great troubles, owing to the disputes of the Princes of the blood, who all pretended to a share in the government; but that it had never before been seen that any foreign prince had dared to make such a pretension as was now made by the Duke de Guise and his confederates,

who, contrary to the express *ordonnance* of the States, had surrounded the majesties of the King and Queen with their armed forces. And that it was not for them to pretend, nor for others to believe, that this was done out of zeal for religion—their only motive being that they might enrich themselves out of the spoils of the kingdom, and, more especially, by pillaging and massacreing, with impunity, those who refused to obey them.

In order to understand this, it was necessary, he said, to take notice, that, after the decease of Henry and of Francis the Second, our young King Charles was called to the throne in his minority; so that, according to ancient custom, the States-General of the kingdom were summoned, in order to make certain *ordonnances* which were to have force until the King attained his majority—which good constitutions might be included under four heads.

The first had regard to the guardianship of the King, and the administration of the kingdom, which had been given (*octroyé*) to the Queen-Mother, in regard to the prudence, wisdom, probity, and experience observable in her. Thus was that lady established guardian of the King and gouvernante of the realm, by advice of the States and consent of the Princes of the blood, who had especially recommended her to use such good economy that the innumerable public debts, amounting to the sum of forty-three millions of francs, might be liquidated. Item, that the subjects of the King might be relieved from the burdens under which they lay so heavily oppressed; and thus the face of the Republic, all torn and disfigured as it was, be restored,—and, finally, that she might establish peace both within and without the kingdom.

The second head related to the Privy Council of the King; and it was enacted, that all Lords lying under the obligation of an oath to any foreign Prince, should be ex-

cluded therefrom. Such were Cardinals, Bishops, and other ecclesiastics, who had taken an oath of allegiance to the Pope. Moreover, that two brothers should not be allowed to sit there at once, unless they were Princes of the blood, who as *born* councillors (*conseilleurs nés*) were excepted from this regulation. Item, that those who had administered the finances, should render an account of such administration before being admitted. And, finally, that those who had received excessive gifts and largesses from the late Kings—in defiance of the laws and *ordonnances* of the kingdom—should be constrained to make restitution. From which last article, as he had before stated, the civil war had taken rise. For the Duke de Guise, the Constable, and the Maréchal de St. André, finding themselves obliged to make restitution, and till that were done being excluded from the Council, had taken up arms to obtain by force what the regulations of the States-General had denied them.

He then argued that such demand of restitution was not an uncommon measure in the kingdom of France, adducing various facts of history in support of this assertion; among others that of the Constable Clisson, who had been driven from his estates for having enriched himself with the sum of 1,600,000 crowns. With greater reason might the States demand an account from these men—not only because of the immense subsidies levied under King Henry the Second; but also for the vast sum of 35,000,000 he was in debt. He added that Francis the First, who had made war during thirty-five years, had left a large treasure in his coffers, while these men, in a few months had exhausted all the resources of the kingdom, leaving it loaded with pecuniary claims and obligations.

The third head related to declarations of war, and the power of putting arms into the hands of the King's sub-

jects, which, seeing its great importance, the States had reserved to themselves.

The fourth had regard to religion. It had been decreed that henceforth none should be persecuted upon that account—that the subjects of the King, whether of the Roman or the Reformed and Evangelical Church, should live in perfect security as to their persons,—and that places and temples should be allotted to the Evangelical ministers for the purposes of their worship.

Now most of the above articles especially touched those of the House of Guise, as well as the Constable, and the Maréchal de St. André. First, the Guises, in that there were four brothers of them in the Council, that is to say, the Dukes of Guise and Aumale, and the Cardinals of Lorraine and Guise; and, secondly, the others for having accepted immense donations: they had endeavoured to oppose these regulations in every way—had succeeded in breaking up the Colloquy of Poissy, and had endeavoured to carry off by force[1] the Duke of Orleans, next brother to the King, in order, in case of the King's death, to hold the rightful heir in their hands. This enterprise having failed, they had immediately begun to plan another, and for this purpose they had absented themselves from Court, and the Duke de Guise had quitted the kingdom, in order to give the Princes of Germany reason to understand that they desired to embrace the Confession of Augsburg. But before their departure a new and solemn convocation had been held of the Presidents, Councillors, Princes of the blood, and others of the King's Council, among which were the Constable and the Maréchal de St. André, and sundry deputies of the said States-General; and, by their general

[1] The relation of this attempt, which had very nearly succeeded, was omitted in its proper place.

advice and consent, an edict was issued, called the Edict of January, allowing preaching and administration of sacraments, provided it was without all walled towns (*villes closes*); and that the ministers should all take the oath of allegiance before the magistrate. Now, he added, though the Religious felt that in thus being constrained to leave the towns for the celebration of their worship, their lives were put in danger; yet, relying upon the promises of the King of Navarre, and of the fifty-seven Councillors of the Privy Council, they had cheerfully consented. And this Edict being kept, great appearances of a perfect restoration of the public tranquillity had ensued, until the Constable and St. André, having taken advantage of the King of Navarre, (to whom they had promised the restoration of his kingdom upon condition that he would drive the gospel out of France,) had sent word to the Duke de Guise that it was time to return to Court. Upon which he had set forward, attended by many horse; and on his way, at Vassi, had committed a horrible massacre, where numbers of women and children perished.

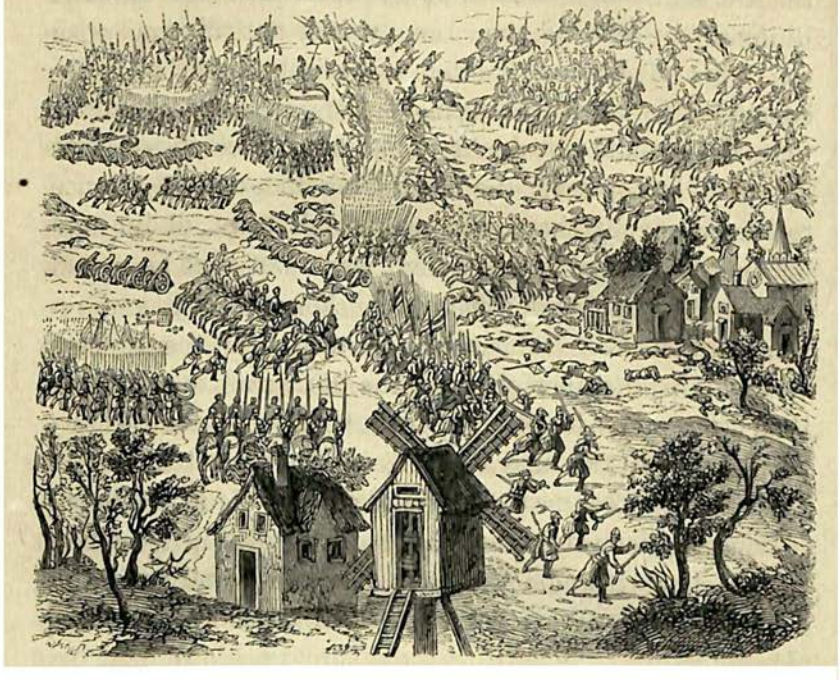
Then, having taken up arms at Nanteuil—in defiance of the express commands of the Queen—who had ordered them to disarm, and retire each one to his government, (being aware as she was of their intrigues with Spain, Portugal, and Savoy,) these men had taken possession of the city of Paris; and after having committed the most abominable cruelties there, had seized upon the persons of the King and Queen, though resisting to tears, and led them from Fontainbleau to the castle of Melun—a strong place, where those are usually put whom it is desirable to keep in close custody—and then they had proceeded to set the whole kingdom in flames with their seditions, which until their arrival enjoyed a happy state of peace. So that in less than four months, according to the reports made,

more than 30,000 men had been massacred, drowned, or hung on the gallows. Among which, numbers floating upon the river from Sens—of those whom the Cardinal de Guise had massacred, had been pointed out to the King as he was playing upon the banks of the Seine at Paris. If the consent of the King of Navarre was alleged to justify these proceedings, it was answered he had no authority to give it, the Queen herself not having power to give orders to take up arms without the assent of the States-General.

From all these things he concluded, that since the above-mentioned had used such violence with the King, as even to declare that if the King and Queen refused to follow them, they would carry them away by force—the Emperor and Princes must see that such acts committed upon a King minor and his Mother by their own subjects, were what alone had induced several gentlemen, moved by affection and piety towards their captive King, to seek the Prince at Orleans, for the purpose of restoring their sovereign to liberty: and maintain the Edict, which had not only been authorized by the Council of Government, the Delegates of the States, and of the Courts of Parliament, but also by the above Constable and St. André themselves. Its infraction shewing what reliance may be placed upon their promises. He added, that the Queen herself had been the occasion of the Prince taking up arms, as she not only had by missives commanded various gentlemen to assist him in this enterprise; but by her own letters to the Prince had claimed his protection, which letters he again produced. Notwithstanding all the above grievances, the Prince, he said, had been always ready to lay down his arms, provided his adversaries would do the same. But, so far from that, they had used their utmost diligence to make levies, not only among the Swiss, Italians, and Spaniards, but among

the Germans, under the conduct of Roquendolff and the Rhingraff—declaring that they would not disarm until the Edict of January should be entirely abolished. He concluded by humbly praying his Majesty, the Emperor, that, as he could not doubt of the facts thus stated, that he would not permit the flourishing kingdom of France to be ruined by those who, against all laws, divine and human, had there begun a civil war—but that he would deliver the King and Queen from their tyranny, and restore to their poor subjects the protection of the Edicts: commanding Roquendolff and the Rhingraff to withdraw their troops. He also supplicated the Prince-Electors not to permit any levy of men, in their estates, but to lend their protection to a King, defenceless and a minor.

The exertions of Spifame had so far availed in seconding the efforts of D'Andelot, that in spite of several vexatious delays, on the 10th of October, he had assembled considerable forces at Bacara. For these he was chiefly indebted to the Elector Palatine, the Landgrave of Hesse, and the Duke of Wirtemberg, who, amid the interested neutrality of the majority of the German Protestant Princes, remained the undeviating friends of religious liberty: and not only had he succeeded in making his own levies, but he had impeded those of his adversaries, and had finally obtained the recal of those mercenaries already enlisted by the Catholics, under pain of being put under the ban of the Empire. The letters of Catherine to the Prince were, as we have said, of signal service in this negotiation.



## CHAPTER X.

D'ANDELOT CROSSES THE RHINE.—BATTLE OF DREUX.

D'ANDELOT crossed the Rhine at Strasburg, and traversed Lorraine and Burgundy, though occupied by various bodies of troops, in force superior to his own: a march, which did infinite credit to his energy and military capacity, and which he effected while labouring under a severe attack of the quartan fever, to which he was subject, and which confined him to his litter. He brought with him 4,000 lansquenets, and 3,300 of that formidable heavy cavalry the Reisters or Reiters, who henceforth made so effective a part of the forces in both armies. Brantôme, whose German is not quite so good as his Spanish, tells us they were called *Reiters*,

because they were "*noir comme tous les diables.*" Mailed to the teeth in black and heavy armour, furnished with large horse pistols, and drawn up in squadrons, thirty in front, to fifteen or sixteen in depth; this cavalry proved almost invincible when opposed to the French men-at-arms, whose ranks composed entirely of gentlemen, holding their long lances, and ranged in single, or at least double line, (from a false point of honour, for they considered it a mark of cowardice to be found any where but in front of the battle,) could make little resistance against the shock of these heavy squadrons. Fierce in their demeanour, brutal in their habits, intractable and insolent, their presence soon became to friend as well as foe, a source of the most cruel vexations. Insatiable pillagers, they moved with an immense train of ponderous waggons, in which every species of plunder was deposited: and the management of these troublesome auxiliaries soon formed a leading difficulty in the conduct of the war.

Their arrival was now, however, hailed with inexpressible joy, and it was resolved immediately, by some enterprise of eclat, to raise the sinking spirits of the party. To march at once upon Paris was determined—not with the vain hope of capturing the town—but with design to make the capital, "which they considered," says La Noue, as "the kitchen in which the war was cooked," cry out a little;—so that its implacable and fanatical population should begin in their turn to taste the miseries of war: to witness the destruction of their favourite country-houses; the ravage of their fields and gardens; and to find the inconvenience of being cooped up within their walls, in company with an insolent soldiery. It was thought their complaints would then be as loud for themselves, as their indifference had been great to the miseries of others, and that they would force the government to terms of accommo-

dation; or at least oblige the Catholic army to come to an engagement, where those advantages might be retrieved, so unfortunately lost at Talcy.

Leaving Orleans, therefore, the Prince and Coligny with what remained of their army, marched first to Pluviers to form a junction with the reisters,[1] "and having received them, they gave them a month's pay in advance, which they had picked up as they could here and there—*Car c'est un mal necessaire aux Huguenots—d'être toujours sans argent.*[2] They then *entreated* them to lose no time, but to gain the town of Estampes."

Estampes being taken, they approached the capital, and the consternation that spread throughout the town was so extreme, that it was thought the walls, or at least the fauxbourgs, might have been carried by a *coup-de-main.* But Coligny, who dreaded those disorders which the pillage of the fauxbourgs would occasion, and likewise considering that the infantry thus entangled might be easily cut to pieces, resisted the general voice, and turned aside to attack Corbeil which commanded the river on the south. Corbeil was so well defended by the Maréchal de St. André and Cipierres, "proving," says La Noue, "that the best defences of a place are brave men within," that the Admiral found it prudent to abandon the enterprise. He was unwilling, he said, to risk their two culverins—all the artillery which the Hugonots possessed—against "a beast which bit so hard:" and being reproached that he was afraid to attack such a *bicoque,* he only replied, "That he would rather be laughed at by his friends without reason, than by his enemies with."

The forces decamped, therefore, and marched upon Paris, where the royal army had already arrived; having

[1] Mém. de La Noue.

[2] For it is the usual malady of the Hugonots to be always short of money.

abandoned their enterprises in Normandy, after investing Dieppe, and leaving a large body of lansquenets and reisters to form an entrenched camp under its walls. The very day of his arrival before the Fauxbourgs, the Prince made an attack. There was sharp skirmishing, and then a general charge, and the Catholics were driven within the trenches.[1] The Parisians upon this were so terrified, that it is thought they would have immediately opened their gates, had it not been for a strong garrison which lay in the fauxbourgs. So excessive, indeed, was the alarm, that it is said Le Maîstre, who as first President of the Parliament, had had so large a share in its iniquitous proceedings, actually died of terror.[2]

In the evening the Hugonots encamped in the neighbouring villages, Gentill, Arceuil, and Mont-rouge. Here Catherine again renewed her negotiations. A suspension of arms was agreed upon, and the next seven or eight days were employed in the attempt at pacification.

The demands of the Protestants were reduced to five—somewhat modified from the former ones. The Edict of January is required for such towns as should demand it—and liberty of conscience for all. No mention is made of the Triumvirs; but the restoration of the confiscated estates, and for the gentlemen of the party, to be reinstated in such honours and privileges as they might have forfeited, is made an indispensable condition.

During these conferences the same touching scene was repeated that had occurred at Toury,—"I relate it," says La Noue, "as showing the genius of the French nation. You might see in the field between the *corps-de-garde* groups of eight or ten gentlemen on either side—

[1] De Thou, La Noue, D'Aubigné, Garnier, Beza, Mem. de Condé.
[2] Christophie de Thou was appointed his successor.

some co nversing, some saluting, some embracing each other—so that the Reisters belonging to the Prince de Condé, who did not understand our manners, began to take umbrage, to murmur,—suspecting that they were betrayed by those who made such fine demonstrations. Afterwards, seeing the truce broken, and that those most ready to embrace were quite as ready to fall to with lance and pistol, they began to be reassured, and would say, '*Quels fols sont ceci qui s'entre aiment aujourd'hui, et s'entre tuent demain.*'"[1] "Certainly," adds he, "difficult it is to behold relations and friends and remain unmoved: but no sooner had they harness on their back, and heard the whistling of the arquebuss, than all these courtesies were at once forgotten."

These meetings between the nobility excited the suspicions of the Catholics, as did the protracted negotiations the members of the Union. The Queen continued to hesitate—now conceding, now withholding, until her purpose appeared to be answered; and the intelligence that the Duke de Montpensier had joined the royal army with a large reinforcement, followed by the immediate rupture of the conferences, gave the Protestants but too good reason to doubt a good faith,[2] upon which it would seem the Prince had too confidingly relied.

[1] What fools are these who love one another to-day, and cut one another's throats to-morrow.

[2] There appears, however, great reason to suppose that Catherine was sincere in the desire she shewed for peace; and we are assured by the Abbé Perau (Hommes Illustres, vie Coligny), on the authority of the original memoir of the conferences published at the time, entitled Discours des choses faites par M. le Prince de Condé, Lieutenant-General du Roi, representant sa personne et tout ses pays, &c., dated, du camp d'Arceuil, 9 Decembre, 1562; that the conferences were broken, in consequence of a discovery made by the Protestants of so great ill-faith upon the part of Guise, as rendered all the securities offered ineffectual. The Prince de Condé, after his demands had been granted by the Council of government, had discovered upon unquestionable authority, "que la dernière fois qu'il plut à la Reine se retrouver au Moulin (the place of conference) le Sieur de Guise, sachant que la dite Dame trouvoit les articles proposés par le dit Prince, plus raison-

Mortified and irritated at the time lost, and at the little fruit they had as yet reaped from their enterprise, it was now resolved, in a moment of vexation, to do that which had before been deemed inadvisable, and give a *camisade* to the fauxbourgs.

This attack failed, through the vigilance of the Duke de Guise, and the usual dilatoriness of the Hugonots; who, making a large circuit to avoid observation, only arrived at the appointed place as the day began to dawn, and seeing themselves discovered, retired without effecting anything. "Yet three days afterwards," says La Noue," "we were so ill-advised as to determine upon repeating the attempt, and I believe should have been beaten, but when guard was changed it was found that one of our principal officers had passed over to the Catholics. "*Le prémier jour on lui fit de très grandes caresses, le second on se moquoit de lui, le troisième il se repentit d'avoir abandonné ses amis.*"[1] This captain was Genlis, a man so high in the confidence of the Prince, that, aware he could reveal the weak points of his situation, Condé thought it no longer prudent to remain before Paris. He dislodged, therefore, the next day: which was the morning before that upon which M. de Guise, strengthened by the arrival of the Spanish reinforcements, had resolved to attack his camp.

The Prince determined upon marching into Normandy, with the double design of obtaining for his men good winter quarters, and to receive the money, and

nables qu'il ne vouloit, s'avança jusqu' à lui dire que *s'il pensoit qu'elle voulût rien tenir de ce q'elle avoit accordé, jamais il n'y consentiroit de sa part;* mais qu'il estimoit que ce qu'elle en avoit fait, étoit en intention seulement de separer les forces du dit Seigneur Prince: puis ajouta que pour assurance *qu'il n'en seroit rien tenu* lui et ceux qui étoient là, (lesquels il disoit être tous du conseil du Roi) lui toucheroit la main: ce qui fut fait et executé."

[1] The first day he was caressed, the second laughed at, the third he found reason to repent that he had forsaken his friends.—Mém. de La Noue, Garnier.

form a junction with the troops daily expected to land at Havre from England. Two days after his departure, the royal army, commanded by the Constable, and the Maréchal de St. André — and in which marched the Duke de Guise as a species of volunteer, refusing all command but that of his own *compagnie d'ordonnance*, —set forward in pursuit, and contrived to march on the flank of the Hugonots for several days—till on the 19th of December, 1562, in the neighbourhood of Dreux, the armies encountered, and the first decisive battle was fought.

### The Battle of Dreux.

"Of all the battles fought in France during the civil wars," says La Noue, "none is more memorable than that of Dreux; whether we consider the experienced chiefs there present, or the obstinacy with which the field was disputed. In every point of view, it is an accident worthy of all lamentation, on account of the blood with which more than 500 gentlemen of France bathed the bosom of their common mother."

The field of battle was an open plain upon the confines of Normandy, but at a short distance from a broken country, where the ways are deep and hollow. The armies were separated by the little river Eure, which crosses the plain, and consisted—that of the Catholics of 16,000 infantry, and 2,000 cavalry; that of the Protestants of 8 or 9,000 infantry, and of 4 or 5,000 cavalry. It is evident, therefore, that the Constable had not chosen his field of battle well, the ground affording a manifest advantage to cavalry.

The Hugonots were pursuing their march, and were employed in rectifying some little disorder into which their divisions had fallen, when on the night of the 18th, the Constable crossed the Eure.

Condé, who regarded a battle as now inevitable, wished to halt, and prepare to meet the enemy; but the Admiral, judging from the excessive reserve that had hitherto been shown, that this movement was intended as a demonstration only, was for proceeding without delay. His advice prevailed, and the dawn of the 19th found the Hugonot army still upon their march. "I will relate," says Beza, "two things that occurred, which seemed sent as if from God, as presages of what was approaching; and that I can attest for true—having seen one with my own eyes, and heard the other with my own ears. The first is, that the Prince, crossing a little river at Maintenon (he passed Maintenon upon the 17th) where some of the lower orders had assembled to see him go by—an aged woman flung herself into the river, which was deep, the rivulet having been trampled in by the passing of the cavalry, and stopping him short, laid hold of his boot and said, 'Go on, Prince, you will suffer much; but God will be with you.' To which he answered, '*Ma mie, priez Dieu pour moi,*' and went on. The other was that in the evening, the Prince being in bed, and talking with some who had remained in his chamber, held the following discourse to a minister who was there, and had been reading prayers (probably Beza himself), 'We shall have a battle to-morrow,' said he, 'or I am much deceived, in spite of what the Admiral says. I know one ought not to attend to dreams—and yet I will tell you what I dreamed last night. It was, that it seemed to me that I had given battle three times, one after the other, finally obtaining the victory—and that I saw our three enemies dead; but that I also had received my death-wound. So having ordered their bodies to be laid one upon the other, and I upon the top of all, I there rendered up

my soul to God.' The minister answered, as usually a sensible man would answer in such cases, that such visions were not to be regarded. Yet strange to say," adds Beza, "the dream seemed confirmed by the result. The next day the Maréchal de St. André was killed, then the Duke de Guise, then the Constable, and, finally, after the third engagement,[1] the Prince himself."

The Constable had early in the morning drawn up his forces in order of battle. It had been the long established and uniform custom, in the French army, to range the infantry in the centre, and place the cavalry upon the wings, which cavalry consisting entirely of gentlemen, stood drawn up in single line, armed with their long lances.

The Maréchal de St. André, however, reflecting upon the nature of the ground, and the danger to which the French gens-d'armerie would be exposed from the charges of the heavy body of reisters, had persuaded the Constable to alter the ancient order of battle.

By consulting the little plan annexed, the movements of this interesting contest will be easily understood.

The Catholic army was divided into five battalions, placed at equal distances, the extreme right resting upon the village of Bleville, the left on that of Pigné—the intervals between the battalions being occupied by the cavalry. These were, to use the words of the historian,[2] "Des cavaliers *rangés en haie*—ranged in single line—without depth, and standing at a certain distance, one man from another, to give room for the play of the lance, which was their principal arm."

A company, therefore, of sixty lances occupied a considerable space, and could afford a very ineffectual resist-

[1] Garnier, De Thou, D'Aubigné, Beza, La Noue, Brantôme.
[2] Garnier.

ance, to an equal number of reisters, charging in squadrons, and armed with their large horse-pistols. The present disposition, in some measure, remedied this inconvenience by affording to the men-at-arms, when broken, the facility of retiring behind the squares of infantry—and the front and angles of these squares being strengthened by arquebusiers, it was no easy matter for the reisters to penetrate between their divisions.

The Constable placed himself at the head of eighteen ensigns of men-at-arms posted on the right, flanked on his extreme right by a square of 4,000 French infantry, and on his left by 4,000 Swiss. Next came the division of Damville, his son; principally consisting of *chevaux légers*. Then followed a battalion of Gascon infantry commanded by Sansac: next the Duke d'Aumale with his cavalry; next 4,000 lansquenets; then the Maréchal de St. André with seventeen ensigns of gens-d'armerie, and a battalion—namely 3,000 of the redoubted Spanish infantry—terminated the left.

The Duke de Guise, as some say, resolved to bear no leading part in the first battle of so disastrous a civil war, or, as is more probable, disdaining to serve under a superior, having once himself occupied the post of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom—remained apart with his own company amounting to about sixty lances, to which were added those of La Brosse and Charni—perhaps about sixty more. These, with a certain number of gentlemen, whom he called his friends, formed a reserve which might amount to about 600 men-at-arms, with which he occupied a rising ground in the rear of the Maréchal de St. André, retaining to himself the liberty of employing his force—when and how he should deem it most expedient.

The army thus drawn up, was in the form of a crescent, the horns of which resting upon the two villages, were covered by about twenty cannon; it presented a front almost impracticable.

Beza laments the fatal security of the Hugonots, which had allowed the Constable to occupy these villages—but attributes it to their negligence in obtaining intelligence, though the Catholic army was but at two leagues' distance. "God," he says, "wishing to discomfit them one by the other, and not to exterminate either army, seems to have deprived the great captains upon both sides of common understanding. For as to the Prince, he did nothing that he ought to have done—whether he designed to give or refuse a battle. And as for the Triumvirate, they seem to have lost their senses: offering battle where they did—exactly before where the wide plains of La Beausse end. Their force, consisting almost entirely of infantry, and that of the Prince, of cavalry—to say nothing of the numbers of huge waggons which the reisters dragged in their train—it was certain that had they let the Prince pass them, and reach the town of Trion,—as was his intention—there are so many hollow ways through which he must have gone, and such a multitude of trees that would have obstructed his march, that one-third of their force would have been sufficient to have annihilated him."

Whoever has visited this country, and seen the widespread treeless plains of La Beauce, contrasted with the country west of Dreux, will admit the justice of Beza's remark. He laments, too, that the battle was forced upon the Hugonots, as they were upon their march, and accepted, "without the different companies having received orders to prepare themselves for battle, either

by general prayer or by private prayer, or in other ways, so that several gentlemen were without their armour when the order to charge was given, and fought in the *avant garde*, headed by the Admiral, without harness on back or casque on head, doing, nevertheless, marvellously well."

The aged Constable, tormented with cholic and gravel, had risen cheerfully from his sick-bed that morning to give battle—"I remember," says Brantôme, "all the evening before, and throughout the night, he had been tormented with grievous pains; but the next morning he mounted his horse, and was ready to march, to the astonishment of every one who had seen him so sick. All rejoiced when they saw this generous old man show so resolute a countenance—fit example for the rest; and I remember—for I saw and heard it, M. de Guise came to meet him, and to bid him good morning; asking, how he found himself? He being in complete armour, save the head, answers, '*Bien, Monsieur, voilà la vraye medicine qui m' a guerie, qui est la bataille qui se presente, et se prepare, pour l'honneur de Dieu et de notre Roi.*"[1]

The Maréchal de St. André, Brantôme tells us, on the contrary, felt himself depressed by strange forebodings. "The morning of the battle, he came before it was day to seek M. de Guise in his chamber, and entering, asked Trenchelion, who was coming out, at what M. de Guise was employed? He told him he had just heard mass, and had taken the sacrament, and that he was going to breakfast before he mounted his horse. 'Ah, Dieu!' cried he, for I heard him, 'how unhappy am I! not to have done as much, and better prepared myself—for my

[1] Tolerably, sir, there is the medicine which has cured me, which is giving battle for the honour of God and of our King.

heart tells me I shall have this day something—I know not what.'"[1]

The Hugonot army began, as we have said, its march at break of day. The Admiral, as usual, leading the advance, and preceding the Prince, who commanded the main body, by about an hour. The road they were obliged to take led them in front of the Catholic army, the left division of which being concealed by some thickets, had been passed unperceived; when a sudden turn of the road brought them at once in front, and at no great distance from the division of the Constable, and a combat became inevitable.

"The Hugonots immediately prepared for battle, while the cannon on both sides began to play, and continued to do so," says La Noue, "for two whole hours, during which time each side remained perfectly still, without any of those skirmishings which usually precede a great engagement; each one reflecting within himself, that the men about to advance were neither Spaniards, English, nor Italians—but Frenchmen; among whom there might be one of his dearest companions, relations, and friends. This gave a certain horror to the thing, although it in no manner abated their resolution."

The Constable began the attack. Deceived, it is said, by the disorder into which his cannon had thrown a body of reisters, he imagined the whole Hugonot army was already broken; and quitting his position, advanced precipitately, rolling his cannon before him. This movement brought him in front of the Admiral, and left the battalion of Swiss posted on his left exposed unsupported to the attacks of the Prince de Condé, who, either ignorant of the existence of, or disregarding the large division which remained unmolested under the command of St.

[1] Brantôme, Hommes Illustres.

André, directed all his efforts against the Swiss, while the Admiral was engaged with the Constable. Ordering Davenets and Mouy to attack them in front, he and his gens-d'armerie, setting spurs to their horses, and followed by the reisters, charged furiously against their left flank, which they penetrated in various places, without, however, making them give ground. Damville perceiving their situation, was flying to their assistance with his companies of *gens-d'armerie* and *chevaux legers*, when he was met by another body of reisters; his brother, Montberon, was killed by his side, and in an instant his *gens-d'armerie* were overthrown, and his *chevaux legers* put to flight. Rallying as he could, he was forced to retire upon the left wing, which remained still immovable in its original position.

The Duke d'Aumale, following his example, was thrown into equal disorder, and, falling under his horse, dislocated his shoulder. Thus the whole of the cavalry forming the left of the Constable's division, or main-body, was thrown into irretrievable confusion.

On the right the advantage was, if possible, more complete. The Admiral had met the Constable with 300 French lances, supported by 1,200 reisters. As long as the battle was confined to the *gens-d'armerie* the advantage was rather on the side of Montmorenci; but no sooner did the reisters bear down, firing their huge pistols—killing men and horses—and, to borrow the expression of the Duke de Guise on the occasion —wrapping the ranks in a cloud of smoke and flame —than the gallant French lances began to give way. The Constable, in vain, made the most desperate exertions to rally his forces. Beaten from his horse, as quickly remounted, he was at length completely surrounded; and his jaw being broken by a pistol bullet—

choked with his own blood, and incapable of making himself heard, he finally abandoned the fruitless contest, and tendering his sword to a reister, was conducted a prisoner from the field of battle. A total rout ensued; the Barons de Rochfort, Beauvais, and Nangis, were taken prisoners, the young Duke de Nevers and Annebaut, the last of an illustrious house, with numbers of less distinguished gentlemen, being left dead upon the field. The Admiral then turned his arms against the Gascon and Breton infantry, forming the extreme right, and which now separated from the rest of the army, made no resistance, and they were driven into the river Eure.

Of this whole right division, being more than half of the royal army, the Swiss alone still maintained their ground. Charged by the Count de la Rochfoucault with a body of lansquenets, they for a moment quitted their position, and suddenly advancing, drove the Germans 200 paces before them—immediately resuming it, they received with an intrepidity that astonished every spectator, two more desperate charges of mingled lances and reisters, headed by the Prince in person, who was filled with astonishment and admiration at their pertinacity. At length overpowered by numbers, their ranks broken, their colonel, captains, and the best of their men lying dead upon the field, they were compelled to retire; and falling back slowly, and in excellent order, they joined the left wing *en pelotons*, "carrying with them," says La Noue, "imperishable glory as the recompense of their unparalleled resistance."[1]

The Hugonots now considering the day their own,

[1] Henry the Fourth talking over this battle, long afterwards, with the historian Matthieu, blamed the Prince greatly for his pertinacity, and for thus losing that time in forcing the Swiss, which ought to have been employed in securing his victory—"The general of an army should secure his advantages, il doit combattre en gros, et pas en detail."

dispersed over the field crying Victory! and pillaging and pursuing the fugitives on all sides. But the Admiral casting uneasy glances towards the left, where the divisions commanded by St. André and the Duke de Guise remained immovable, repeated anxiously, "We deceive ourselves, *bientôt nous verrons cette grosse nuée se fondre sur nous.*"[1]

The Duke de Guise, during the whole of this time, had remained upon the hill in the rear, which he had at first occupied, "regarding," says Brantôme,[2] "*tout le jeu et perdition de la bataille, le désordre et la fuite des nôtres, et la poursuite confuse et vauderoute que faisoient les Huguenots.*[3] He, turning his eyes upon all sides, commanded us to open our ranks, and, passing to the front, began to look about at his ease; raising himself in his stirrups, though of a grand and noble stature and well mounted."

Damville, anxious and impatient, besought him in vain to fly to the rescue of his father.

"My son, not yet," was the reply.

"At last," proceeds Brantôme, "knowing the time was come, he turns and looks yet a space, and then, in the twinkling of an eye, he cries out aloud, '*Allons! compagnons, tout est à nous;*'[4] and setting spurs to his horse rushed boldly forwards, and, followed by all his company, joined the division of the Maréchal de St. André, and descended like a thunder-cloud upon the field of battle."

The Hugonot infantry, which had not yet entered into action, remained still in formidable force in front of the

[1] We shall soon see that great cloud discharge itself upon us.

[2] Brantôme, Hommes Illustres, Guise.

[3] The contest and loss of the battle, the disorder and flight upon our side, and the confusion in the pursuit of the Hugonots.

[4] Follow me, my friends, the day is ours.

Catholic left wing. Against them the Duke de Guise directed his first efforts. Placing his cavalry in the centre, flanked by the yet unbroken divisions of the veteran Spanish bands and the Gascon infantry,—in this order, says Davila, "*Con passo composto e riposato*," he bore full against the Hugonot infantry, and dispersed it in a moment.

D'Andelot, that day ill of his quartan fever, had risen hastily from his sick-bed, and might be seen in his furred gown, unable to bear any other dress, hurrying from place to place, vainly endeavouring to arrest the confusion, and rally his forces. This fine regiment of lansquenets,—but "*bien qu'ils eussent la plus belle apparence du monde*," says Beza, "*étant chose certain qu'il n'entra de cinquante ans en France des plus* couards *hommes que ceux là*" [1]—fled right across the field, and took refuge in a wood near the village of Bléville, and the rest of the forces were easily dispersed.

This effected, St. André, putting himself at the head of his own body of cavalry, united to that of Damville, now charged the Hugonot reisters, who, their ammunition exhausted, and their spirits wearied by the extraordinary exertions they had been obliged to make against the Swiss, had retired into the same wood where the lansquenets had taken refuge.

Here D'Andelot joined them, entreating them to turn once more, face the enemy, and retrieve the fortunes of the day; but all his efforts were useless: at last, overpowered with illness and totally dispirited, he gave up the point; and, after a short delay, quitted the field to rejoin the main body, which he did not succeed in doing till the next morning.

[1] Though they made the finest appearance in the world, it being certain that for fifty years such cowards had never entered France as these men.—Davila, Beza, Brantôme.

The Prince in the meantime, with what remained of his *gens-d'armerie* still continued to maintain a desperate combat,—almost beside himself at the idea of thus relinquishing a victory he had so lately considered his own. At length, broken on all sides, he was obliged slowly to give way, and was reluctantly retiring with his brave men-at-arms, himself in the rear rank still gallantly fighting against Damville,—who rendered desperate by the capture of his father, pursued him with the utmost vehemence—when his horse being wounded fell under him. Condé was thus taken, and forced to surrender his sword to the son of the Constable, who was burning to secure the prize as a pledge for the security of his father.

While this was doing—the Admiral and the Prince de Porcian in another quarter, were using their most strenuous exertions to rally the dispersed troops, and collect a sufficient body to repel this second army. They succeeded in gathering together between 15 and 1600 horse, who, issuing from a wood, suddenly attacked the Duke and St. André, saluting them with a volley from their pistols. St. André's horse, completely wearied with the fatigues of the day, here fell under him. He was taken prisoner, and a gentleman named Bobigny, (whom the rapacity of this magnificent nobleman had robbed of his property by an unjust law-suit,) riding up to him, fired his pistol in his face, and immediately quitted the field to escape the vengeance of the man to whom St. André had surrendered himself, who was thus by his death deprived of an immense ransom.

The Admiral now pursuing his advantage, marched to the village of Bléville; but the Duke, hastening the advance of Martigues, with the formidable Spanish infantry and the French arquebusiers, presented so formidable a front, that the reisters, after two ineffectual charges, re-

fused to persevere, and retired, in spite of the entreaties of Coligny, who thus found himself compelled to abandon this hard fought field. The night now falling rapidly, he, making a large circuit to collect such stragglers as he could, retired in good order to Neufville, two short leagues distant from the field of battle. "*Nous nous retirâmes,*" says he, in his own account of this engagement, "*à la vue des Catholiques en bataille, au son de la trompette, avec trois canons que nous y avions menées.*"[1]

While the retreating trumpets of the Admiral were heard sounding through the woods, and the darkness was rapidly closing round him, the Duke de Guise, surrounded by his broken legions and slaughtered companions, remained master of this bloody field. The battle began at noon, and lasted till five o'clock: the loss was great upon both sides —that of the Catholics amounted to 8,000 killed, the Hugonots estimated theirs at 3,000; considered a very heavy amount in those days. Seven remarkable circumstances are noted by La Noue, in his quaint manner, as distinguishing this battle.

1st. The pause before the engagement began.

2nd. The obstinate defence of the Swiss.

3rd. The "long patience," as he calls it, of M. de Guise.

4th. The long duration of the fight.

5th. The capture of the chiefs on both sides.

6th. The manner in which the armies separate, "*se désattaquerent;*" the Reformed retiring "*au pas et avec ordre.*"

Finally, the courtesy of M. de Guise towards the Prince, his prisoner.

[1] Mém. de Condé, T. 4, 180. We retired in the sight of the Catholics, in order of battle, with trumpets sounding, and the three cannons we had brought with us.

An anecdote of a gentleman named D'Aussan shall conclude the account of this battle, as marking the high and susceptible sense of honour proper to the times. D'Aussan had acquired a reputation proverbial for courage during the wars of Piedmont; but, upon seeing the defeat of the Constable, and the total dispersion of his forces, he was seized with a sudden panic, and, setting spurs to his horse, galloped out of the field, and never stopped till he reached Chartres. But the next day learning the event of the battle, he was seized with such excessive shame at what he had done, that, throwing himself in a paroxysm of despair upon his bed, he refused every species of sustenance, and died in tears the fifth day.

## CHAPTER XI.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE BATTLE OF DREUX—GUISE RETURNS TO COURT—THE ADMIRAL MARCHES INTO NORMANDY.

When Guise returned from the pursuit, his illustrious captive was presented to him by Damville. Guise and Condé had been not only political but personal enemies. The Duke had left nothing undone to deprive Condé of his life, and Condé had repaid the obligation by pursuing the Duke, ever since the death of Francis the Second, with unremitting animosity. The meeting, now inevitable, between these powerful rivals was contemplated by all the gentlemen assembled with a mixture of curiosity and anxiety; but the Duke de Guise seems to have forgotten, in the hour of victory, all those reasons for enmity and ill-will which had existed between them; and, in the chivalric courtesy of his behaviour, men forgot the tyranny and violence lately exhibited by the factious Triumvir, and thought they once again beheld the humane and generous conqueror of Metz.

"When the Prince was presented to him," says Brantôme, "he received him with gentleness and respect, paying him all honour; and, leading him to his quarters, entertained him in the best manner he could; and as few beds had arrived, because the baggage had been plundered, he offered the Prince his own; which was accepted, on the condition that the Duke himself should share it. Thus these two great rivals and adversaries lay down together, as familiarly as if they had never been enemies

and like good friends and cousin-germans as they ought to have been. . . . . All the evening the Prince was little seen, for M. de Guise advised him to remain in the *garderobe*, though it was but a small place. Many wished to have a look at him, but M. de Guise forbad them; *car une personne affligée n'aime guère cette vue ni visitations.*[1] . . . . . I had, however, interest enough to get in, and beheld him near the fire, making great demonstrations of grief. They brought him his supper, and M. de Guise wishing to go to rest, he dismissed us all—though not till after we had sat some time round the fire talking the battle over,—*Ou chacun etoit reçu pour son escot et pour son dire.*

"The Prince and he lay together, and the next morning we all went to his *levée*. The Duke, as soon as he had risen, set himself to write an account of the engagement to the King and Queen as briefly as he could, and then went to visit the field of battle. Then the Prince rose, for he had till that time remained in bed; most of us were, however, in the chamber, but his curtains were drawn close; had he opened them he would have been a little surprised to see us all there."

Condé afterwards related that he never once closed his eyes during that most singular night, but that the Duke slept soundly—"*comme si de rien n'étoit.*"[2]

Such was the conduct of the Duke de Guise after his victory, — justly praised by La Noue and Brantôme. His proceedings, during the battle itself, are more questionable; and when the relative situations of himself and Montmorenci are considered, the tranquillity with which he suffered the defeat of the Constable, exposes his own good faith to hard suspicion.

[1] For people in affliction don't like visits and visitations.

[2] As if nothing had happened.—Brantôme, Hommes Illustres.

The news of the engagement reached Paris with that almost incredible celerity with which the intelligence of great events has often seemed to outstrip the relator. Numerous fugitives from the field during the early part of the day, had carried with them the report of a total rout of the Catholic army, and consequent utter ruin of the Catholic cause. The disastrous rumour soon reached the Court then at Vincennes. The remark of Catherine betrays her indifference both in politics and religion, "*Eh bien donc il faut prier Dieu en Français.*"[1]

But in Paris the report excited far different feelings. The populace and bourgeoisie in the greatest consternation crowded to the churches, and the streets were filled with lamenting multitudes, running to and fro in distraction and despair. But the next day the scene changed. Lopes arrived on the part of the Duke de Guise, bearing a second edition of the day's history. He entered Paris by the fauxbourg St. Jacques in a sort of triumphal procession, proclaiming his good tidings as he went along. He was followed by crowds of people, now as extravagantly excited by joy as they had been before depressed by grief, and venting their exultations in the wildest expressions. Scarcely could they believe, for exceeding delight, till their young King appeared again in their town, surrounded by all his Court, in order to return thanks to heaven for his victory in their own magnificent church of Nôtre Dame.

But in the midst of all this rejoicing, the heart of the Queen-Mother was heavy enough. In whatever light she considered the present position of herself and her children, it filled her with great and most just uneasiness. The capture of Montmorenci, the death of St. André, the defeat of Condé, threw herself and the young King, with-

[1] Well, then, we must pray God in French.

out a shadow of defence, into the power of Guise—that man ever secretly hated, once openly defied, and now exceedingly feared—and the Duke speedily showed that it was his intention to make the best of his advantages, and to reign unchecked and alone.

In order, however, in some degree to balance this formidable power, the Queen lost no time in bestowing the *bâton*, vacant by the death of St. André, on M. de Vieilleville, a tried and old friend and partisan of her own, but a man of no very great ability. And if we may believe Carloix, in his Memoirs of his master,[1] the King had scarcely delivered the *lettres d'état*, constituting Vieilleville maréchal, when a courier arrived from M. de Guise, who presented two letters to the King, one of which was as follows :—

"SIRE,

"Your Majesty has by this time been made acquainted with the happy victory I have achieved over your rebel subjects—the enemies of your crown—wherein I have given so good an account of them that you need at present be under no further trouble to put a fresh army on foot, for so few remain that I think they can never recover (*se relever.*) Most of those who presented themselves in battle having been put to the sword, the rest mostly killed in their flight, with the Prince de Condé prisoner. But because the ancient *ordonnances* and statutes of war endow me, as chief of the victorious army, with the places of those who have died, and confer on me the nomination of those who shall succeed to them, I fail not to advise your Majesty of the death of the Maréchal de St. André, humbly begging of you to confirm the nomination to his vacant place of one of those two that the Sieur de Hanacour will name to you. They have done

[1] Mém. de Vieilleville.

their duty so well in this battle, that without their valiant assistance, your Majesty may believe the victory would have been in great jeopardy. . . . . It is needless to add more, except to humbly entreat your Majesty *de ne me vouloir frustrer de mes priviléges*, according to which I might have filled one up myself, for when the Admiral, yesterday, presented himself with six or seven hundred cavalry, and what infantry he could rally, to take his revenge; fearing that my army would not fight unless commanded by a Constable or Maréchal, one being prisoner and the other dead, I proposed the creation of one, but I was answered by the nobility, captains, and gens-d'armes, and soldiers, as if with one consent, that they would have no other leader but me, calling upon me to finish what I had begun, otherwise they would abandon their standards. My presence, qualified as it is, pleasing them more than that of either Constable or Maréchal of France. I relied on this ardent good will, and putting all to the hazard, led them forward, and with such fury that the Admiral was driven back in the greatest confusion, and has taken with all speed (*à toutes brides*) the road to Orleans. Your Majesty will therefore be pleased to send me the letters patent (*lettres d'état*) of Maréchal de France, signed by your own hand and sealed, leaving the name in blank, which I will fill with that one of the two whose services I most esteem. . . . . I assure myself that your Majesty will not refuse my request, according to his accustomed discretion in rewarding the services and merits of every one; and, therefore, I need trouble him no further—for should he act differently, he would disgust most faithful servants *de gaiété de cœur*, and not only throw cold water upon that courage which is ready to hazard life, but would give men just occasion to forsake him for ever, and find a party

somewhere else. In these hopes, founded upon the equity and duty of a great Prince, I pray the Creator, Sire, to keep you in all prosperity, and health, and long life. From the Camp of Dreux, this 21st of December, *votre très humble sujet et très affectionné serviteur*,

"FRANCOIS DE LORRAINE."[1]

This letter requires no comment.—It is a striking lesson of the species of dictation a sovereign may expect, who, from being the arbiter of the kingdom, degrades himself into the head of a party.

This letter being read, the King made this remark, "*Voyez si le Duc de Guise fait bien le roi.*[2] You would swear the army were his own, and the victory due solely to his hand and conduct. No mention of God, who by his great goodness hath given it to us. *Cependant il met le marché au point,*[3] and tells me if I don't grant what he demands he will quit my service and join my enemies. I know not where he found this fundamental law of war, I never heard of it; but I must appease his wrath, and write him a civil answer to content him. The loss of a Captain to whom my late father, the King, gave so much authority, would too greatly trouble the kingdom;" and he wrote the following letter, "The softness of which," says Carloix, "from the master to the servant appeared as strange, as the presumption of that from the servant to the master."[4]

"MON COUSIN,

"I have received your letters by Hanacourt, and we ought all of us to thank God that he has been pleased in his infinite goodness so miraculously to reverse the victory which, until the arrival of the messenger, we believed to

[1] Mém. de Vieilleville.

[2] See whether this Duke de Guise plays the King or not.

[3] Moreover he brings matters to a point.

[4] Mém. de Vieilleville.

have been on the side of the enemy. Being also very sorry he did not come yesterday morning, for in that case I should not have failed to favour one of those you mentioned, with the *bâton* of the Maréchal de St. André; but, yesterday, before nine o'clock in the morning, I had given it to the Sieur de Vieilleville, for reasons he (Hanacourt) will explain, and shew you *à doigt de l'oeil*, how straitly I was obliged to it, and I cannot go back without an irreparable stain upon my honour and conscience, although, had Hanacourt arrived in time, I would have passed him over without regard to his merits, and willingly gratified your demand. . . . However, mon cousin, in order that you may not disappoint these two valiant gentlemen in the hope you have held out, I promise you, *foi de Prince*, to provide for them on the first vacancy; or to create two supernumerary places in the mean time. And to render my promise more valid (*pour valider ma parole*), I send you an ample act, signed by my hand, and sealed with my seal, containing the above assurance . . . . and, moreover, as an earnest of my good will, in acknowledgment of their services, I send a power to honour them, and make them Knights of the order.[1] As for you, mon cousin, in order to give you the means to follow up your victory, Hanacourt brings you from me a power generally to command the army. And with the assurance that I commit this honourable charge to a worthy and most faithful hand, who will know how to acquit himself with honour, and to my satisfaction, I finish this, by praying God, my cousin, to have you under his holy care. Written at Paris this 22nd of December.

" *Signed,* CHARLES.
" *Countersigned,* DE L'AUBESPINE."

[1] Of St. Michel, the only order then in France; knights of the order are always mentioned after the highest nobility.

The King, in truth, little better than a slave, is, we see, like a slave, compelled to lie, in order to prevaricate with his master; for the report of the victory had been brought by Losses the day before the arrival of D' Hanacourt. The two gentlemen selected by Guise were, we are further told, the one a gentleman of Lorraine, of small extraction,[1] "lifted to shew the power of the hand that raised him;" the other, a wealthy man, who had offered Guise an immense sum for the vacant bâton. Guise bore his disappointment patiently, if that letter could be said really to convey a disappointment, which carried in it his nomination to the Lieutenant-Generalship of the kingdom—a place almost equal in power to that of the King himself. He wrote politely to congratulate Vieilleville upon his appointment.

It will be observed that the Duke de Guise, in his letter, alludes to a second affair with the Admiral on the 20th. A combat of the nature he describes is not mentioned by the historians.[2] All parties agree that Coligny found himself the next morning at Neufville with a considerable force in cavalry, far exceeding that of the Duke;[3] but the reisters peremptorily resisted his earnest entreaties, and refused to try the fortunes of battle again. It appears, however, that he did persuade them to advance half a league in the direction of Dreux, and to remain there an hour or two, in order to collect a few more bodies of the dispersed infantry; he then retired, and at Anêt halted, in order to hold a Council of war, and proceed to the election of a chief in place of the unfortunate Condé.

[1] Mém. de Vieilleville.

[2] Castlenau and Mergy positively assert there was no fresh engagement; Davila and La Noue make no mention of it. Some suppose it an invention of the Duke de Guise in order to introduce the subject of the Lieutenant-Generalship.

[3] The Admiral was at the head of 3 to 4,000 cavalry and 2,000 infantry. Guise had not above 200 horse, and his infantry would have engaged to great disadvantage in the plains near Dreux.

To this distinction he was himself called by the unanimous voices of all present, and was invested by acclamation with the unlimited command of the army. This being settled, he marched to Orleans,[1] where he left the Constable in charge of the Princess de Condé, and then in order to rest and amuse his insatiable and unreasonable mercenaries, he crossed the Loire, and entertained them, says La Noue, at the expense of sundry small towns of the enemy's, and in a good quarter of the country, "*Où la bride fut un peu laschée au soldat, pour se refaire de leur pertes.*" A stronger motive for this proceeding may probably be found in the necessity of removing them from the dangerous vicinity of the royal army. From head-quarters there, every sort of means—whether of money or solicitations was made use of to persuade these mercenaries to desert the Hugonots, and take pay under the King—a proceeding for which they showed very considerable inclination.

Even the French soldiers, he felt, were little to be depended upon: "*Qui aux adversitez sont assez prompts à*

[1] If any judgment may be formed of the disposition of an army, by the popular songs current in it, the Hugonot army, at Orleans, seems to have been little dispirited, and the Prince to have lost none of his popularity by the day of Dreux. The following verses were evidently composed after the battle, and were sung in the camp of the Hugonots:—

Le petit homme a si bien fait,
Qu' à la parfin il a défait
Les abus du Pape de Rome;
Dieu garde de mal le petit homme!

Le petit homme fait complot
Avecque Monsieur d'Andelot,
D'accabler le Pape de Rome;
Dieu garde de mal le petit homme!

Mais en contre lui s'éleva,
Un Guise qui mal s'en trouva
Défendant le Pape de Rome:
Dieu garde de mal le petit homme!

Le Pape prévoyant ce mal,
Et sentant Monsieur l'Amiral,
Menacer la siége de Rome—
Dieu garde de mal le petit homme!

Envoya grand nombre d'écus,
Dedans Paris à tous ces fous,
Qui avoient tous juré pour Rome:
Dieu garde de mal le petit homme!

Enfin bataille se donna,
Près de Dreux qui les estonna,
Et les fit fuir jusques à Rome:
Dieu garde de mal le petit homme!

Loué soit Dieu qui des hauts cieux
Nous donne ce bien précieux;
Remercié soit de tout homme
Détestant le Pape de Rome.

From Capefigue, Hist. de la Ref.

*tourner leur robe.*"[1] As for the Duke de Guise, shortly after the battle he quitted Dreux for Rambouillet, to which place the Queen, with the Court, had advanced from Paris to meet him.[2] "The day after his arrival, as M. de Guise as well as the Queen were going to dinner, this wise and courteous Prince having presented the napkin, asked, if after dinner it would please her Majesty to give him an audience! 'Jesus! my cousin,' says the Queen, quite surprised, 'What do you mean?' 'I mean, madam,' said M. de Guise, 'that I wish to explain in detail, before every one, what I have been doing since my departure from Paris with the army which you gave to me in charge, in partnership with M. le Connétable; and to present to you those good captains and servants of the King who have so faithfully served him.' Accordingly, after the Queen had finished dinner, he entered with his company, and after a low reverence, *comme il sçavoit très bien son devoir*, he began to discourse upon the successes which had been obtained since leaving Paris—and coming to the battle of Dreux, he represented it so to the life, you would have sworn you were still there. (In which the Queen took great pleasure.) He greatly praised the Constable, M. d'Aumale, De St. André, and the good La Brosse, and every one of the others, living or dead,—both French and Spaniards,—which last, indeed, had not done so much as might have been expected, yet through no fault of their own, being little engaged; but their good and assured appearance, and their order and old military discipline were of great service. Above all, he greatly lauded the Swiss . . . . and one thing he did, which was thought

[1] Ready enough to turn their coats in days of adversity. Mém. de La Noue.

[2] Brantôme, Guise, iii. 103, puts the scene at Blois a month after the battle, but the date is of no importance.

strange—he eulogised sundry captains and great men who had *bien gentiment fui*,[1] of which the Queen and his intimates asked him afterwards the reason.

"He said that it was the fortune of war—which might never have happened, might never happen again—and this would encourage them to do better another time. He passed such things lightly over, and enlarged upon those who had done well. His harangue lasted long, and every one was so attentive that a pin dropping might have been heard, and he spoke so, that every one was delighted. Never Prince discoursed better, or was more eloquent; '*Non point d'une eloquence fardée, mais naïf et militaire, avec sa grace de mesme.*'[2] . . . . This done, he presented all the captains to the Queen, '*et elle qui pour lors estoit en ses beaux ans, en ses beaux esprits et belles graces*,'[3] received them very graciously, and made her answer to the Duke de Guise. In this she said that the King and herself should for ever lie under obligation to him for this great victory, and to all these captains likewise. She then thanked them all with excellent grace—as she well knew how . . . . so that each one retired, well content both with the Princess and their General. As for me, I never heard any one speak better than the Prince, '*et en eust fait honte à M. le Cardinal son eloquent frère s'il y eust été.*'"[4]

The Duke de Guise lost no time in improving his favourable situation. The Lieutenant Generalship, during the imprisonment of the Constable, was confirmed to him; the government of Champagne, vacant by the death of the Duke of Nevers, bestowed upon him; and

[1] Very readily run away.

[2] Not a fine flourished eloquence, but with military grace and simplicity.

[3] And she who was then in all her beauty, with her fine spirits and manners.

[4] He would have shamed M. le Cardinal himself, his eloquent brother.

every exertion made to recruit his army. Twenty lances were added to each company of the *gens-d'armerie;*[1] and eighteen new companies created, the commands in which were given away according to his directions. He demanded a new creation of thirty-two Knights of the Order, and bestowed these honours upon his own friends. Catherine rather endured than relished these proceedings: thus she writes to Gonnor, her Superintendent of the finances, "M. de Gonnor, we have made this morning thirty-two Knights of the Order; because, forsooth, there were not enough before, and twenty captains of gens-d'armerie. You will have your share in these promotions by an addition of ten men to your company—this is to keep you in good humour, that you may not be angry when we send for money—Are we idle?" In addition to all these measures, the Duke further proposed one, which, if adopted, would have done more than anything he could have imagined to weaken the Protestant Union. Well aware how greatly the late reverses would increase the anxious desire many felt to shield themselves from the terrible penalties to which they were subjected by the last Letters Patent, issued the 8th of January, by which all, without exception, who were members of the Union, were subjected to the pains of high treason, the Chancellor, at the request of Guise, had prepared others, in which the King offered his free pardon to all who would return to their obedience, and retire to their estates. But this pacific measure was obstinately resisted by the Parliament of Paris, whose blindness, fanaticism, and cruelty, have cast an indelible stain upon their name. They refused to register it; and still further at the petition of the inhabitants of Paris,—issued a fresh

[1] By which is to be understood the ancient cavalry of France, composed of gentlemen and armed with lances.

arrêt, whose provisions exceeded in severity any that had yet been promulgated. The Parliament of Toulouse meanwhile hanged three of its members without ceremony, merely for being suspected of favouring the Reform, and sent deputies to make complaints against the Chancellor, upon suspicion of his being concerned in originating the proposal of the Duke de Guise. They complained of all those "*qui compillent telles abolitions, lesquels sont contre Dieu, le Roy, benefice, paix, et repos du royaume; et que la Roy ne veuille pardonner au dit Parlement, si, pour le lieu qu'il tient, il ne peut en façon du monde obeyir, accepter, ni entériner tels édits, subreptifs et indignes d'un Roi très Chrétien.*"[1]

To deprive Coligny of his formidable reisters nothing[2] was left untried. Taking advantage of a negotiation set on foot for the exchange of 1,500 lansquenets, prisoners at Dreux, Guise addressed a letter to Molthausen, Maréchal de Hesse, the general of these mercenaries, saying, that though by the law of nations he should be justified in hanging his prisoners, as having entered France in a hostile manner without declaration of war—yet being convinced the Germans acted under false impressions, he was willing to pardon and release them without ransom; provided they entered the service of the King, or immediately retired into Germany; and, in case of refusal, he threatened the last extremities against every individual—officer, or soldier, who might fall into his hands.

The Maréchal de Hesse replied to this that he had been sent into France by his *très glorieux souverain*, and

[1] Who invent such indemnities which are contrary to God, the King, and the well-being, peace, and repose of the kingdom; and pray the Queen to pardon the said Parliament if, in consideration of the place they hold, they can by no means in the world obey or accept such unpatriotic edicts, quite unworthy of a most Christian King.—Garnier, Hist. France.

[2] Beza.

two other princes of Germany, to release the King and royal family from an unworthy captivity, and that he did not intend to return with his mission unfulfilled. But that as to the threatened severities, he had only to say he should treat his enemies as he found himself treated. As an answer to this declaration the King, who with his court had proceeded to Blois, was directed to address a declaration in his own name, dated 24th January, 1563, to the Maréchal, which thus begins:

"We, by these presents, certify, on the word of King and Queen to the Maréchal de Hessen, *coronal* and chief of the said men-of-war, captains, and soldiers, that we have never been detained, nor constrained in any captivity, &c." The declaration goes on to summon the Germans to take their choice—either to quit the kingdom, or enter the service of the King. To this declaration was appended a certificate signed by the Queen-Mother, the young princes, brothers to the King, Henry of Bearn—(afterwards Henry IV., then ten years of age) the Card. de Bourbon, and the Prince de Porcian.[1]

Catherine, to give more effect to this proceeding, despatched copies of the declaration to several of the German princes; and at the same time sent back, without ransom, the 1,500 lansquenets; whose report of the war, it was thought, would little tempt others to engage in it. The fidelity of the reisters—if fidelity their adherence to the best paymaster can properly be called,—was attacked with bribes as well as menaces.

On the 19th January Catherine thus writes to Gonnor, "I am always desirous you should keep a good sum for these reisters—for peace or no peace, either way as it may prove necessary. I know you have already drained many purses, but at any expense we must get out of this

[1] Mém. de Condé.—Beza.

mess *(boue)*." Her letters to the German princes complained of the assistance given to men who only made religion a cloak for their ambition, and the Queen affirmed—what in spite of her vacillating conduct was perhaps still the truth, that she and the King desired to allow liberty of conscience to all, and had in their army, household, and council, numbers who professed the Reformed religion. If the princes doubted the facts, she proposed a personal conference at Bar-le-duc, or any frontier town, in order that the whole of the quarrel might be laid before them, and they be enabled to judge of its merits.

As for the Maréchal of Hesse and his reisters, Coligny persuaded them to disregard a declaration signed, as he said, "by four boys, a woman in the power of her enemies, a Cardinal devoted to their antagonists, a bloody fanatic, and a trifler."

The winter was stormy and rude, and the dissentions and confusions of society were aggravated by the violence of the elements. "Upon the 16th of January," Beza says, "there was horrible lightning and thundering at Blois and Orleans, though naturally the season of the year is not subject to such things. Six weeks before, at the village of Dardenay near Chartres, a heavy dark cloud had arisen which seemed loaded with burning fire-brands, from whence proceeded an impetuous tempest, by which, throughout that part of the country, all the trees were torn up by the roots, houses blown down, and the waters overleaping the banks of the ponds and rivers—it seemed as if everything was about to be destroyed.

"True it is," he adds, "such things may be referred to natural causes; yet it appears by history, both sacred and profane, that the great God, author and governor of all these causes and their effects, makes use of such at times

to constrain the most obstinate among mankind to recollect themselves, and meditate upon the terrible judgments of their sovereign."

The horrible and more than enormous outrages committed in these wars, gave cause enough for reflection, from some share in which even the Admiral himself was not altogether exempt, "though this good and virtuous person—who was a mortal enemy of all vice if ever there existed one in the world—kept as good order as he could; but do what he would—*la guerre tirait toujours en avant.*"

He had, as has been related, been endeavouring to amuse and employ his turbulent reisters in the capture of several towns.

In the mean time the Duke de Guise, with a refreshed and recruited army, highly inspirited by their recent successes, had approached Estampes, recovered the whole of La Beauce, and was now approaching Orleans, saying, "*que le terrier étant pris ou les renards se retiraient, après on les courrait hors de France.*"[1] The Prince de Condé had been placed in an abbey near the city of Chartres, where the King and Queen now were; here he was kept strongly guarded, and a report was current that he was to be brought speedily to trial and would be found guilty of high treason. It was thought that the Duke intended thus to get rid of both his rivals at once, for he made little doubt that the Hugonots in Orleans would make reprisals upon the Constable for any violence offered to the Prince. Damville, however, was on the alert to prevent this danger to his father; and the trial of the Prince, for the present, was postponed.

In the meantime the Admiral saw the approach of the royal army with considerable anxiety, upon account of

[1] Mém. de La Noue.

his reisters, who now, in arrears of pay, were about to be exposed to all the temptations held out by the enemy. He had collected all his forces, both French and German, and quartered them, some within and some without the city; while in the Council of Union anxious debates were held as to the course to be adopted. All the money in the hands of the Union had been divided among the reisters, but they were little satisfied, and were impatiently murmuring and clamouring for more; and there seemed every reason to fear that as the army of the Duke de Guise approached, they would strike their standards, and go over in a body to the enemy. After much deliberation it was at length decided, as well with the hope of diverting the Duke from the siege of Orleans—or at least, obliging him to divide his forces,—as to receive the money expected at Havre from England, and thus satisfy the reisters—that the Admiral, accompanied by the whole of that body and a few of the French noblesse, should march immediately for Normandy; leaving all his infantry under the command of D'Andelot, to hold out in the town till he could return and raise the siege.

Speed was the indispensable condition necessary to the success of this plan, and the difficulty lay in the impossibility of persuading the reisters to separate from their huge train of heavy waggons, laden with plunder, which accompanied them wherever they went. This difficulty seemed insurmountable. The obstinacy of these men—their indifference to every cause in which they were engaged provided they secured their own booty—was well known; yet such was the influence that the high reputation of the Admiral had obtained over them, that, aided by the exertions of the Maréchal de Hesse, he finally prevailed.

Assembling them together, he explained to them, that, by a rapid march into Normandy, they would effect a junction with the reinforcements promised by Queen Elizabeth, and receive money sufficient to liquidate all their arrears of pay. This prospect was not without its charms for these greedy and insolent mercenaries. They received the proposal with loud hoarse shouts, and with one accord declared every one among them *schelmes* who should refuse to follow the Admiral—and yielding to his persuasions, they at last consented to leave their heavy waggons in Orleans; which were laid up accordingly in the nave of the great church of St. Croix to await their return. Their diligence in which, it was thought, would be greatly expedited by this pledge for their good behaviour remaining in the hands of their allies.

Coligny, therefore, leaving D'Andelot, still sick of his quartan, with Duras, Bouchavannes, Bussy, &c., and 4,000 infantry to defend Orleans, began his march February 1st; followed by the reisters, his own company of ordnance, those of the Prince de Porcian, and De la Rochfoucault, andt he old bands of Grammont; calculating, that by using extraordinary diligence, he might be able to receive his reinforcements, pay his reisters, and return to Orleans in time.

In order to delay his march, and enable the Duke to complete his preparations, Catherine made another attempt at negotiation. But Coligny was no longer to be duped by these empty pretences; he replied to her advances, "That peace was what he desired above all things; and that it would be well the Prince and the Constable should meet to treat of the affair;" but as to himself, he had decided to proceed on his march.[1]

But that a personal interview should take place be-

[1] Mém. de Castlenau, additions of Le Laboureur.

tween Condé and Montmorenci was the very last thing that the Duke de Guise intended to allow. Those were times when men were actuated by feeling, rather than by calculation—by the sentiments, wrong or right, which agitated their hearts, rather than by any regard for consistency. These two men, he well knew, so long held asunder by the suspicions and jealousies which their enemies had taken such pains to excite, once admitted to behold each other's faces, and to hear the tones of voices endeared by ancient friendship, and a thousand recollections, were very likely at once to forget their quarrel, their opposing religion, and differing interests, and to rush into each other's arms.

So thought, and so said the Princesse de Condé, a woman of wit and observation. She told her uncle, the old Constable, that his enemies, (which were the same with those of his master, and the kingdom in general,) would never suffer him and the Prince to meet.

"They are like," said she "the priests who in the processions carry the *châsses* containing the relics of St. Geneviève and St. Marceau. These holy men take care to walk at a great distance from each other, having a notion that, if these two blessed *châsses* were once to come together, they would unite so closely that nothing on earth could ever separate them again."[1]

The Admiral, therefore, pursued his march, and with such diligence, that in six days he made more than fifty leagues; La Noue tells us that he had 2,000 reisters, 500 French cavalry, and 100 arquebusiers on horseback; and for the baggage not one single cart; only 1,200 horses, "and with this we made such speed that we often arrived *avant notre renommée.*" He evaded the Maréchal de Brissac, to whom the defence of Normandy was en-

[1] Brantôme, Hommes Illustres, Guise; De Thou.

trusted, and reached Havre in safety. But no succours from England greeted him. No men had arrived, no money was there—and the reisters, disappointed in their expectations, and looking with a sort of gloomy terror upon the dark and stormy ocean before them—which to these men, from the interior of Germany, presented a strange and terrible aspect;—"ignorant," says Davila, "in what quarters of the world they were,"—broke out at once into a furious revolt, demanding their arrears with loud cries and menaces, and calling upon the Admiral to keep his promise—or look to the consequences. Coligny stood there in the midst of this wild and tremendous tumult, preserving the same severe and undismayed countenance which exercised such extraordinary influence over men. Pointing to the black and tempestuous waves now swelled to mountain height by wintry and conflicting winds, he endeavoured to make them understand the nature of the element, and the impossibility that the English should cross the seas at such a moment.

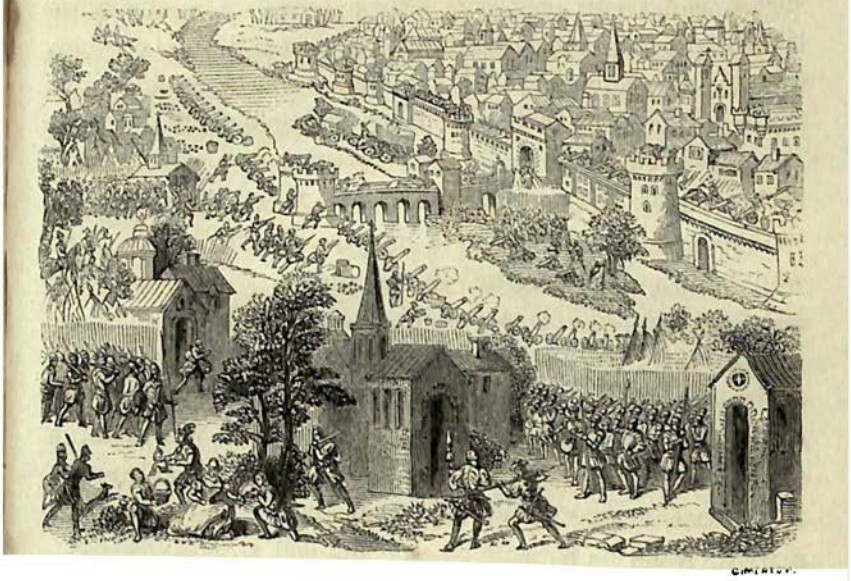
But in vain! They cared for nothing but their pay, and disappointed in that, they retired in sullen discontent to their quarters—began to hold secret councils apart, and had decided upon abandoning his standard—when just in time to avert this disaster, the winds becoming more favourable, the English fleet at length appeared before Havre. It brought the scanty subsidies from Queen Elizabeth, with five cornets of troops, and eight cannon. This seasonable reinforcement enabled Coligny to listen favourably to a deputation he now received from the inhabitants of Caen, a city in wealth and importance esteemed as the second in Normandy, entreating the Admiral to take them under his protection.

Caen was occupied by the Duke d'Elboeuf, whose conduct had drawn upon him the detestation of the citizens;

and he found it impossible to prevent their opening their gates, and admitting the Admiral, accompanied by 2,000 English, to take possession of the place: shortly after which the citadel capitulated. The riches and moveables of all the neighbouring Catholic gentry had been placed in Caen for security; and in the *caisse de recette* of the province the Admiral found 18,000 livres—a seasonable supply—for we hear of little money from Queen Elizabeth—and he was at length able to satisfy the demands of his reisters.

The Maréchal de Brissac, thrown into the greatest consternation by this occupation of Caen, wrote to the Queen, by Castlenau, to represent the danger of the dreaded English once more gaining a permanent footing in the province. He entreated that the Duke de Guise, then investing Orleans, might be commanded immediately to raise the siege, and to march with all diligence to support him: urging, that Coligny and the English once defeated, the fall of Orleans must follow as a matter of course; but already the indefatigable Admiral having accomplished his object, had set out upon his return.[1]

[1] Mém. de Castlenau, La Noue, Davila, Beza, D'Aubigné.



## CHAPTER XIII.

SIEGE OF ORLEANS—DEATH OF THE DUKE DE GUISE.

THE Duke de Guise had sat down before Orleans the 5th of February, 1563, and now held it closely invested. In it, as the capital, the stronghold, the centre, and soul of the revolt, were assembled the Council of Union, the most able ministers of religion, the wives, children, moveables, and treasures of the Hugonot nobility and gentry; their precious captive the Constable, and the wife and eldest son of Condé. The defence, as I have said, was entrusted to D'Andelot and St. Cyr, assisted by some other eminent gentlemen. The military force consisted of fourteen companies of German and Gascon infantry, with the armed townspeople divided into four companies.[1]

[1] Davila, Guerre Civile di Francia.

Orleans, as at that time standing, was divided into two very unequal portions by the river Loire. On one bank lay what was properly called the city; and on the other, a large suburb called le Portereau, which was united to the city by a bridge, this bridge being defended on the side next the suburb by two fortified gateways, called les Tourelles; at the other end it was closed by the gate of the city itself, defended by a massive square tower. The walls of the city were not in themselves strong, but had been put into the best possible repair by the Hugonots. There were two bastions in front of Portereau, one of which faced the camp of the Catholics; they were both defended by some ensigns of infantry. It was not the intention of D'Andelot to attempt to maintain le Portereau to the last, yet he calculated upon its holding out about a week, when he expected to be obliged to withdraw the inhabitants and abandon it; but it was lost the very first day.

The Duke, reconnoitering, without any intention of making an assault, yet "as *chef advisé*," says La Noue, "he going with his needles and thread, had entrusted a small force to M. de Cipièrre, with two little culverins, marching himself in his rear with a few men. They found the Gascons in the first bastion well prepared; but while they were skirmishing, some soldiers brought word that the lansquenets, posted in the second bastion, *ne faisoient pas trop bonne mine*.[1] 500 arquebusiers were sent to attack it, M. de Cipièrre at the same time causing his artillery to play. The lansquenets took fright at the noise and *mouvement*, and abandoning the bastion, fled precipitately." They were followed by the Catholic soldiers, who in an instant entered the suburb, and taking the Gascons in their rear, forced them to retreat.

[1] Mém. de la Noue. Looked rather unsteady.

This they did in good order, and desperately contesting every street and every corner, afforded time for the fugitives to escape, and saved Orleans. But nothing could exceed the confusion which ensued. The inhabitants of the suburb rushed to the bridge, flying with their wives, children, and property, to take refuge in the town. The lansquenets were seen forcing through and trampling them under foot, regardless of everything but themselves. The bridge and streets adjoining were soon choked up by the torrents of people, and it was impossible either to shut the gate between the Tourelles or to let fall the portcullis. Numbers threw themselves into the river, and thus, or by the sword, hundreds perished; while the alarm in the town even exceeded what the actual danger justified. Many cried out "The isles were taken," and that the enemy were already fighting within the second gate. "Then M. d'Andelot, who was indeed *un chevalier sans peur*, rising from his sick bed, said, 'Let the nobility follow me, for we must drive out the enemy or die. They can only advance ten men in front at once, and with a hundred of ours, we may resist a thousand of theirs. *Courage, Allons!*' As he hurried forward he was a witness of the terror, the flight, and the universal confusion, and was saluted by a thousand lamentable cries on all sides; but he, no wise appalled, passed the bridge, and reached the Tourelles, only too happy to find the Catholics had advanced no further. But it was high time he should be there, for the enemy had arrived at the portcullis, which, however, he at last contrived to let fall, and to secure and close the gate, which had been standing open all this time."[1]

"There is little doubt," adds La Noue, "but that the town might have been carried—certainly the isles—after which the town could not have held out fifteen days.

[1] Mém. de La Noue, p. 161.

But a story had got among the Catholic soldiers, that the Tourelles were filled with gunpowder, and were intentionally abandoned by the Hugonots. This tale saved the bridge; and thus *perdirent les Catholiques une belle occasion; et ceux de la Religion eschappèrent un grand peril.*"

The artillery had not yet come up or the Duke would have renewed the attack the same evening. On this occasion he thus wrote to Gonnor:—

"*Mon bon homme, je me mange les doigts quand je pense,*[1] that had I had six cannons and ammunition for 2,000 rounds, the town would have been ours. They have only 400 good soldiers, the rest mere undisciplined townsmen, and Germans—*partout un effroi désespéré.*"[2]

The letter ends by his demanding that a train of artillery should be sent instantly, without which he despaired of carrying either the Tourelles or the *tête du pont.* But that which he despaired of obtaining without the assistance of a park of artillery, became his own in a few hours, through the courage of a private soldier. Curious to see what was going on in the *corps de garde,* within one of the Tourelles, this man silently placed a ladder against the wall, mounted, and applying his eye to an opening in the principal tower, remarked that the sentinel was very comfortably warming himself before a stove within, his companions dosing and sleeping around him. The soldier softly descended his ladder and went and acquainted his fellow-soldiers with the discovery he had made, offering himself as a guide to any among them who had the courage to follow him and attempt the tower. About thirty consented to join him. They ascended noiselessly one after the other, and as they reached the top of the wall, he silently ranged them upon the ram-

[1] My good fellow, I am ready to eat my finger ends off when I think.—Garnier. [2] All in a desperate fright.

parts: then when the last man had mounted, uttering loud cries, and discharging a volley, he rushed at their head into the tower, while the soldiers of the guard suddenly awakened, and unable in the darkness to distinguish the number of their assailants, fled across the bridge, without even giving an alarm. D'Andelot, again aroused from his sick bed, arrived too late to recover the towers; and was this time obliged to content himself with throwing up two batteries at the other end of the bridge.

The Duke de Guise, the next morning, visited his conquest, and was satisfied the town might now be carried any day he was pleased to command the assault; and it was under these circumstances that Castlenau arrived from Brissac, bearing with him orders from the Queen to raise the siege immediately, and march to the relief of Normandy. The Duke de Guise, well aware of the purpose of his errand, received him with his usual courtesy,[1] and begged him to repose till after dinner. The repast finished, he furnished him with one of his own horses, and proposed to ride towards Orleans. They visited the troops in their quarters—the Duke declaring the men were the best he had ever commanded, and according to his usual custom, distributing his liberalities among the sick and wounded. Then he invited Castlenau to attend him to the Tourelles, from whence he pointed out the weakness of the fortifications which defended the town, saying "If M. de Brissac saw what you now behold, he would be the last to ask me to raise the siege."

The next morning the Duke called a council of war, where he invited Castlenau to explain the situation of affairs in Normandy. He then quietly collected the votes of the officers beginning with the youngest; who, for the most part, agreed in opinion with Brissac, and were for

[1] Mém. de Castlenau, additions of Le Laboureur.

marching immediately to his relief. The Duke then addressed them, and having praised the loyalty which inclined them to adopt the sentiments of the King and Council, he declared himself of a diametrically opposite opinion to theirs. At the first glance, he said, the advice of M. le Maréchal de Brissac appeared good, namely to despatch an army into Normandy, defeat the Admiral, and drive the English into the sea. "For, I confess, the ruin or preservation of the Hugonot cause depends upon the Admiral—But to march without any preparation to encounter his cavalry, and, as Castlenau has reported, at disadvantage, and to abandon the enterprise upon Orleans, *ville si estonnée*—seems to me, I confess, out of the question. The Admiral will not be so ill informed (knowing, as we do, that there are hundreds of his faction at court, as well as all over France); but that, in less than twenty-four hours, he will know what we have concluded upon, and provide accordingly. He is strong in cavalry; the army before Orleans composed almost entirely of infantry; and is it not an unheard of thing, that an army of infantry should go in pursuit of one of cavalry, having besides so many plains to pass over—La Beauce, Dreux, Neufbourg, in one of which most certainly the Admiral will wait for the King's army—*pour hasarder mille ou douze chevaux pour les sabouler parmi les gens de pied, voire s'il les pourra estonner!*" . . . . or if he does not choose to fight, he will cut off our supplies. In a word, to raise the siege of Orleans, would, at the shortest, take six or seven days. We should have to cook bread, bring up and shoe the artillery horses, advance money to the soldiers, &c., and before that, the Admiral will be on his march to return—will meet us upon one of these plains, where he may pass the King's army with all his cavalry; leaving it to march for Normandy, while he returns to Orleans—

thence to Paris, or worse, to Blois—from whence, to say the least, he may dislodge the King, and make himself master of the field, and the whole length of the Loire . . . My advice is, in the first place, to take Orleans, which secures the Loire and La Beauce."

The captains present at once came over to this opinion, and Guise, the affair thus concluded, proceeded to open to them his plans for terminating the civil war. The last plans ever arranged by that accomplished captain may carry an interest to the reader. I will, therefore, give them as briefly as possible. He began by explaining the difficulties of conducting a civil war, "which," said he, "I imagine, M. de Brissac finds rather different from those of Piedmont." Orleans taken, he should advise to follow the Admiral, and force him to fight; but for this purpose, and that they might march with every possible advantage, he would summon the *ban, arrière ban,* and all the nobility of France, from eighteen years of age to sixty, and collect together all the regular forces scattered throughout the kingdom. At the head of this army the King, accompanied by the Queen, Princes, and council of government, should put himself, *et que lors l'on diroit être la cause et l'armée du Roi, et non celle du Duc de Guise.*[1] The Admiral was with this force to be pursued, and must inevitably have been defeated; and thus, before the summer was over, he trusted the King would be at peace in this kingdom, *et exempt de guerres civiles s'il fut jamais.*

Castlenau had little difficulty in making Catherine accede to such plans; and these measures once decided upon, her impatience for the fall of Orleans, knew no bounds. She wrote repeatedly to the Duke, pressing him to fulfil his promise, and he, (who thought he detected a suspicion

[1] And then it would be reckoned by everybody the cause and army of the King, and not that of the Duke de Guise.—Mém. de Castlenau.

of his good faith, in delaying to press a town which contained a rival whose liberation would at once terminate his command,) answered her with some warmth.

Catherine writes in reply, "I am glad that you write to me so freely—for this sincerity assures me that you have perfect confidence in one who loves you as a brother, and who having the honour to be mother to your King, has the means of acknowledging your services. *Vous savez qu'il faut aimer les amis avec leur complexions*—you must love me as I am—being that I am neither a very wicked person, nor any very particular enemy of any one in the world; least of all of you.... You should understand better, and see that to those I love and esteem the most, I most freely communicate all I know, wish, or fear; not through distrust, but to shew whatever I have upon my heart, that they may answer me frankly. I assure you I shall, as a good mother, be always advised by those so long attached to my lord and husband, and, since his death, to his children—for which cause I love you, and shall esteem you all my life—for we will live and die together. Do as much for her who will ever love you."[1]

In answer to this letter, the Duke wrote to the Queen, that the 19th was the day fixed for the assault. That Orleans would be inevitably taken; and that he hoped she would not take it amiss if he slew every living thing within the city, *jusques aux chiens et rats*—and if he razed the town to the ground and sowed its foundations with salt.[2]

In truth such a massacre would have ensued, as the bloody annals of man have rarely recorded—whether we consider the furious and exasperated temper of the Catholic soldiery, or the flocks of defenceless victims shrouded within the walls.

[1] Original letter. Mém. de Condé.

[2] Beza, Hist. des Eglises.

"*Demain,*" writes Catherine to Gonnor, "*M. de Guise doit faire belle peur à Orleans.*" [1]

But oh! never shall sun that morrow see.

A catastrophe as sudden as unexpected saved the menaced city, and changed, in one instant, the whole course of subsequent events.

A French gentleman named Jean Poltrot sieur de Merey, had long been hanging about the Hugonot army, chiefly employed as a spy by the young Feuquières, in which capacity he had made himself before useful during the foreign wars. Having been brought up in the household of the Prince de Soubise, he became a convert to the Reformed opinions; and being of a dark and enthusiastic temper, he soon regarded the adversaries of that faith with all the unmingled horror and detestation that belongs to an ardent mind, excited by the spectacle of dreadful cruelties such as they had on all sides perpetrated. The Duke de Guise especially fixed his attention; and, not altogether without reason, had concentrated upon himself the full force of these feelings; Poltrot being often heard to swear that he would deliver France from all her miseries, by killing him,—an enterprise he was ready to undertake at any cost. Beza says that he made his intentions known to the Prince de Soubise, who, looking upon it all as "*le propos d'un homme eventé, le renvoya,*" telling him to mind his own duty, and God would provide, in his own time, other means. The more this man talked of his intention the less was he believed by any one; these open and violent declarations appearing as the mere ravings of a madman. After the battle of Dreux, Poltrot had been sent by M. de Soubise with dispatches to the Admiral, but he begged the Admiral immediately to send him back, "*d'autant qu'il étoit homme*

[1] To-morrow M. de Guise shall put Orleans in a pretty fright.

*de bonne service.*" The Admiral, however, at the earnest solicitation of Poltrot, allowed him to remain in Orleans, where he found him still hanging about on his passage from Selles into Normandy. Poltrot had renewed his acquaintance with Feuquières, who recommended him to the Admiral as an excellent spy; and in this capacity Coligny sent him into the army of the Duke de Guise, giving him at first the sum of twenty crowns, and afterwards, on Poltrot complaining that he had no horse, 100 more for the purchase of one. With this money, Poltrot provided himself with a fleet Spanish gennet. He then introduced himself into the household of the Duke.

"It was the custom of M. de Guise," says Brantôme, "to come down from the Chateau de Corney, about a league from the trenches, where he lodged, to the Portereau every day, and Poltrot often accompanied him with the rest of us, seeking the favourable moment. A small river, called La Loirette, ran between Le Portereau and Corney, the bridge over which had been broken. The Duke had often been advised to repair it, but he refused, saying, the King had enough to do with his money; so he was accustomed to cross the stream in a boat."[1]

Poltrot was well aware that the assault was to be given on the 19th, and that Orleans must inevitably fall. He resolved to save the city, if possible, and to strike the blow he meditated upon the evening of the 18th. Mounted upon his jennet, he placed himself in ambuscade, so as to command the road leading up from the little river to the castle; and entering into a small wood, Beza tells us,[2] he dismounted, and throwing himself upon his knees, he prayed fervently to God, that if, in the design he meditated, there were anything displeasing to him,

[1] Brantôme, Hommes Illustres, vie Guise.

[2] Beza, Hist. des Eglises, t. ii. 268.—De Thou.

(*lui était chose désagréable*) he would give him grace to change it. But if it were his good pleasure that he should proceed in it, that he would afford him strength and constancy to kill the tyrant and save Orleans from destruction. "Feeling himself strengthened after this," says De Thou, "he remounted his horse."

The Duke that evening had been detained later than usual, and rode, attended only by M. de Rostaing—another gentleman, the Seigneur de Crenay, having ridden forwards to relieve any anxiety Mad. de Guise might be under upon account of the delay. Poltrot, who was slowly riding by the side of the river, seeing Crenay, asked him, "When Monsieur would come?" he answered, "That he was close at hand," and so saying, rode on. Poltrot waited till he saw the Duke coming up from the boat, then riding forward, placed himself between two walnut trees, where two roads met; in such a position that he should not see the Duke's face, lest, as he confessed afterwards, that if he looked at him he should lose the wish (*volonté*) to hurt him, as had often happened to him before.

The Duke having passed, Poltrot advanced, and fired a pistol loaded with three bullets which struck him in the right shoulder, and passed through his breast. The Duke bent to his horse's neck with the blow, but rising immediately, only said, "*L'on me devoit cela, mais je crois que ce ne sera rien.*"[1] Trying, however, to put his hand to his sword, he found it useless. Then he thought that his shoulder had been carried away, and that he was mortally wounded. When he got to his quarters, and had entered his chamber, he found Mad. de Guise waiting there, little expecting to see him in this condition: perceiving she was greatly terrified, after he had kissed her, he endea-

[1] It was what they owed me, but it will be nothing.

voured to console her, telling her he brought her *piteuse nouvelle*, but whatever it was they must receive it from the hand of God.[1]

At first the surgeons augured well of the wound. Catherine wrote to Gonnor :—"*Je suis si faschée que je ne saiş ce que je vous dois dire, sinon qu'il me coutera tout ce qu'a le Roi mon fils pour sçavoir qui a fait cette mechanceté pour m'en venger. Et s'il empiroit, ce que Dieu ne veuille, ou qu'il ne peut si tôt commander, je me délibére envoyer querir votre frère (Brissac) et laisser le Mar. de Vieilleville en Normandie. Pour l'honneur de Dieu gardez que le peuple de Paris ne s'étonne, et faites partir le canon.*"[2]

Robertet, writing to the Cardinal de Guise, Feb. 19th, says, "I wish to advise you, my lord, that it is not four hours since I left your brother; and *M. Castellon and M. Vimienne* the surgeons, (their names deserve to be preserved) had assured *qu'il n'en aura que le mal, et qu'il n'est en aucun danger de mourir.*"[3]

The danger the surgeons could not find they created, as the wound was treated according to the barbarous surgery of those days. On the Monday, says the Évêque de Riez, the Prince fell into a continual fever, owing to his wound, which the surgeons had widened and cauterised *avec un ferment d'argent tout ardent*, thinking by this means to

[1] This account is chiefly taken from the Pamphlet of l'Evêque de Riez, published at the time, and preserved in the Mémoires de Condé, Q. iv. 245. The work is, however, so partial to the Duke as to be of somewhat doubtful authority, though Beza seems to admit it in the main to be true.

[2] I am so vexed that I don't know what to say, except that it shall cost everything the King possesses, but I will know who has done this wickedness, and have vengeance upon it. And should he get worse, which God forbid, or that he cannot at present continue in the command, I have resolved to send for your brother (Brissac), and leave the Marquis de Vieilleville in Normandy. For the love of God take care that the people of Paris are not disheartened, and send off the cannon.

[3] That he would be quits for the suffering, and that there was not the slightest danger.

destroy the effects of the poison which they imagined to be in the *bullets and powder*. Perronet de Chantonnay,[1] Ambassador of Philip of Spain, thus wrote from Blois, the 23rd of Feb.—"The physicians and surgeons find themselves astonished because the entrance of the wound is larger than its exit, (*plus grande que la sortie,*) from which they suspected that one ball had lodged in the cavity. They decided that it was necessary to make a larger opening, and yesterday, Monday, which was the fourth day since the affair, although it did not seem *jour convenable et que lors la lune nouvelle se faisoit,*[2] they advised to proceed to work without loss of time, because there was great fever and restlessness; and after midnight they went to *le dit Sieur*, and told him, it was necessary to make a great incision, to which he immediately agreed, telling them, *qu' ils ne cessassent de besoigner encore qu'il criast.*[3] *Ils firent premièrement une grande taille de long, et mirent les doigts dedans, et trouverent tout sain et sauf, en un côté, qui se commençoit jà à faire une caverne et imposthume; lors ils firent encore une autre ouverture de travers, et ayant bien regardé trouverent qu'il n'étoit rien demeuré dedans, ni entre aucune chose dans le creux, ils passerent de l'une playe à l'autre un linge net qu'ils ont laissé dedans comme un seton pour netoyer la plaie*, and though this was done the fourth day of the *renouvellement de la lune*, he begins to mend though he has still much fever."

[1] Lettres de Perronet de Chantonnay.

[2] A good day, for it was new moon.

[3] Not to stop in their business, let him cry out as he might.

[4] Brantôme tells us, in his life of Guise, that while the surgeons were visiting the wound, the Duke recollected that the same astrologer who had foretold the death of Henry the Second, had told him in the presence of the King, that he should die by a wound in the back, which at the time shocked him, thinking it a mark of cowardice. This remembrance troubled him during his illness.

"The Constable," says Matthieu, "sent him an excellent water to help him, but all was useless, the balls were poisoned." Brantôme says, "He died in eight days. I must just relate this. M. de St. Just d'Allegre, being very expert in the cure of wounds by linen and fair waters, and words pronounced and meditated, was presented to this brave seigneur to dress his wounds and heal him,—for he had done wonders in this way,—but the Duke would never hear of it, nor admit him, because, he said, such things were enchantments forbidden of God; and that he would have no other remedies but those proceeding from the divine goodness, and those *médecins* and surgeons elected and ordained by it (*par elle*). For he loved better to die, than give himself to such enchantments forbidden of God. *Voilà la religion sainte et le saint scrupule qui avoit ce bon Prince à ne vouloir offenser Dieu,* liking better to die, than offend him in this. I saw it all. Nevertheless, M. de St. Just, who was my very great friend, told me that he should have cured him." The enemies of M. de Guise had probably reason to rejoice that he submitted to the methods of the physicians "ordained of God," as he styled them, rather than to those of the more humane and judicious enchanter.

Finding his end approaching, the Duke prepared to die with equal fortitude and resignation. Whether the discourses put into his mouth by the Évêque de Riez, are literally true, may, perhaps, be doubted; but it seems certain the last hours of this great, yet criminal man, were spent in a manner that many might be happy to emulate.

"This person," says Beza, "finding himself surprised by death in so splendid a career of greatness, would willingly have lived longer; nevertheless, it is affirmed that he surmounted this passion in his last hours, acknowledging

something of his excesses (*déportements*) against those of the Religion, and speaking with great affection to his family."

He held frequent conversations with Catherine and with his Duchess; and after recommending his children to the Queen's care, he exhorted her to make peace as speedily as possible[1]—declaring that it was useful and necessary to the kingdom, and that whoever opposed it ought to be considered a public enemy. Catherine, we are told, was so afflicted during this interview, that she could say but little, and was obliged to retire.[2]

Turning then to his Duchess, who sat weeping by the bed, he addressed her in a long and affectionate speech,[3] beginning, "*Ma chere et bien aimée compagne, puisque Dieu veut que je m'en aille le premier, c'est bien raison cependant, que j'ay encore le loisir, qu'à vous la première j'addresse mon propos, vous communiquant de mes dernières affaires. Nous avons été long temps conjoints ensemble par le saint lien de foi et d'amitié, avec une entière*

[1] De Thou, L'Evêque de Riez.

[2] The Bishop affirms that the Duke had been before this very anxious for peace, and had on several occasions urged it upon the Queen; and that, at his entreaty, she had sent the Bishop de Limoges and D'Oysel into Orleans. That the very day of his assassination he waited at Le Portereau, in expectation of their return, with an answer to his proposals. This great desire of peace does not exactly tally with the rest of his conduct, and may be doubted; the Bishop's little book being evidently written for the occasion. In a moral point of view we may wish to believe it, or we shall find it difficult to look upon the act of Poltrot with that abhorrence which the crime of assassination should ever produce.

[3] I had at first resolved to reject this speech which, from its length and arrangement, appears unnatural, and probably composed afterwards; but on reflection I have been inclined to admit it. A set speech under such circumstances was more to be expected in those times than it would be now. People *conversed* less, but, we imagine, *harangued* more. It is evident that De Thou, in his account of his death, has made use of this little book, which was drawn up immediately after the event by the express desire of Catherine. The Bishop de Riez assisted the Duke in his last moments. The book has for title—*Recueil des derniers prospos que dit et tint feu François de Guise, Lieutenant pour le Roi, prononcé par lui avant son trépas à Mad. la Duchesse sa femme et M. son fils*, and may be found in Mém. de Condé, t. iv. 342.

*communion de toutes choses. Vous savez que je vous ai toujours aimé et estimé autant que femme peut être, sans que notre mutuelle amitié ait reçu aucune diminution en tout le temps de notre mariage, comme je me suis toujours mis en devoir de le vous faire connaître, et vous à moi; nous donnant toutes les contentements que nous avons pu.*"[1] He then asked her pardon for those errors to which the frailty of his youth might have led him, and assured her in return of his own forgiveness. He recommended his children and their education to her assiduous care,[2] and forbade her in the most urgent terms to revenge his death, saying, that he had forgiven the authors of it. Then, taking his son, the Prince de Joinville, in his arms, whose violent distress for a moment troubled the father's equanimity, he addressed him in the most serious and tender terms, warning him (alas! how vainly!) against ambition, and all its errors and crimes, and holding out his own fate as an example of the instability of human things. And he bade him beware how he stained his soul with violence or crime for the sake of any worldly distinctions whatsoever. If entrusted with great offices by the Queen, he charged him, as he himself had endeavoured to do, to acquit himself faithfully—but above all things, he exhorted him, to avoid the company of vicious men and yet more of profligate women—whose *commerce would degrade his soul,* and cover his name with ignominy; then exhorting him to the love of God and practice of virtue, he gave him his affec-

[1] Since it is the will of God that I shall depart the first of us, it is reasonable that, having yet time allowed, I address myself first to you, in order to communicate my last affairs. We have long been conjoined in the holy bond of faith and friendship, with an entire communion in all things. You know that I have always loved and esteemed you as much as woman could be; nor has our mutual affection received any alloy during all the time of our marriage, as I have always endeavoured to prove to you, and you to me; giving each other all the mutual satisfaction which it was in our power to do.

[2] That they should be instructed in letters, says De Thou.

tionate blessing and farewell. The Duke finished his discourse by turning to the spectators, and addressed them in these words: "I have desired and sought by all means in my power a good peace; and he who does not desire it *n'est point homme de bien, ni amateur du service du Roi, et honni soit qui ne la veult.*[1] I beg of you to shew the Queen that peace is absolutely necessary to preserve the kingdom, which is so afflicted, that if it remain much longer in this state, the child will no longer inherit the fortunes of his father, nor the seigneur maintain what is his. It would be better to be a mere peasant in any other country than a noble in this. *Tellement que si Dieu n'y remédie, j'ai pitié de ceux qui demeurent après moi.*"[2] He then briefly alluded to the circumstances of his own life, and most solemnly justified himself from premeditation in the affair of Vassi.

Towards evening the fever increased with a cold sweat; "and having confessed himself, (says De Thou) received the Holy Sacrament, and poured out to God some truly pious prayers; he resigned himself to death with the utmost calmness, and surrendered his spirit Wednesday 24th of February, six days after he had received his wound."[3]

"A man," he adds, "the greatest our age has produced, and every way worthy of praise; whether we regard his great military skill and fortune, or reflect upon his extreme prudence in the conduct of affairs. Truly it would

[1] Is not a worthy man, nor a lover of the King's welfare, and shame on him who desires it not.

[2] So that if God do not provide a remedy I can only pity those who survive me.

[3] A scruple seemed to hang upon his mind which shows more delicacy of conscience, than we should have been led to expect. "A son voyage en Italie," say Brantôme, "il fit pendre deux soldats, l'un pour avoir larronné un seul pièce de lard, et l'autre pour quelque chose legère—dont le prince se confessa à sa mort, et le dit tout haut, et l'ouis, et plusieurs autres." He excused himself on the necessity of improving the discipline of his army.

have appeared that he was born for the benefit and ornament of France, had he fallen on more peaceful times—but the kingdom being split into parties, he, a man of lofty spirit, overstepping the duty and attributes of a subject at the persuasion of his brother, the Cardinal Charles—went into extremes; and when, by the laws of the kingdom he had legitimately no supreme command in the army or state, he took advantage of his personal qualities, splendid virtues, and universal popularity, to force himself into the supreme authority."

This character must be taken with much allowance; Guise was, indeed, far from being *every way worthy* of praise. Yet such is the power of magnanimity, courtesy, and fortitude, that we are perhaps too apt to forget, when we contemplate them in this their eminent example, the violence, cruelty, and fanaticism which darkened the last stages of his career.

Poltrot was taken in a barn on Saturday the 20th, betrayed by his "*contenance effrayée*" to some soldiers who did not know him. 1,000 crowns had been offered for his apprehension. On the 21st, Catherine having arrived at the camp, he was interrogated before her; present the Card. de Bourbon, and a few of the principal noblemen. In his answer to this first interrogation, he accused as accomplices the Admiral, the Count de Rochfoucault, Feuquières, Brion, and Beza. He said, 1st. That in the month of July last the Prince de Soubise brought him to Orleans; 2nd. That Feuquières and Brion pressed him to undertake some great enterprise: that they introduced him to the Admiral, who proposed to him to kill the Duke of Guise; 3rd. That afterwards he went to Soubise at Lyons, and, after the battle of Dreux, returned to the Admiral, who ordered him to go and wait for him at Orleans; 4th. That the Admiral, as he passed through Orleans on his way to

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Normandy a second time, pressed him to assassinate the Duke—that as he excused himself, Beza and another minister entered and encouraged him, telling him he would thereby gain paradise, dying in so just a quarrel: and that, moreover, the Admiral, saying that there were fifty gentlemen resolved upon similar enterprises, gave him twenty crowns to carry him to the Duke's camp; 5th. That he was received by the Duke, that he again returned to the Admiral to show the impossibility of killing the Duke, surrounded as he always was: that the Admiral and Beza encouraged him again by their exhortations, and the latter gave him 100 crowns to buy a horse; 6th. That he returned to the Duke de Guise, and Thursday the 18th of February accomplished his purpose.

Against La Rochfoucault he deposed, "*Qu'il devoit en ſçavoir quelque chose, d'autant que quand il arrivoit en Berri il lui faisoit bon visage.*"[1]

As for the Prince de Condé, D'Andelot, and Soubise, he acquitted them of all participation. He concluded his confession by asserting that the King, Queen-Mother, and many great lords were threatened with the fate of the Duke de Guise.

This heavy accusation against him was immediately made known to Coligny, and a copy of the interrogatory dispatched to him. To his own assembled army the Admiral cleared himself without difficulty: but not content with this, he answered the interrogatory by an apology, accompanied by a letter to the Queen. Both writings were drawn up in a manner that might be called unguarded, and admitted facts that could not be justified: but this very circumstance tends to acquit

[1] That he must know something about the matter, because when he met him in Berri he looked favourably upon him.

Coligny of those graver parts of the charge, which he absolutely and invariably denied. "Many of his friends," says Beza, "did not approve that the Admiral should confess some points so freely, as his enemies might take occasion to found what conjectures they pleased upon them; but the Admiral, *homme rond et vraiment entier, s'il y en fût jamais de sa qualité*, replied, that if afterwards on being confronted it should be found that he had left any thing unconfessed, it would make far more to his disadvantage; and, therefore, he chose, whatever the consequences, to make his declaration in this form."[1]

Coligny declared that he never saw or heard of Poltrot until January, 1563. That Brion, before that time, having deserted from the Protestant army and joined the Catholics, had been killed at the siege of Rouen, so that had he been privy to any plot—as affirmed by Poltrot,—he would, doubtless, being a deserter, have made it known to the Duke de Guise. As to Feuquières, when he presented Poltrot to the Admiral he had confined himself simply to recommending him as one of the best spies he knew. He further protested that the pretended conference was a pure calumny, and appealed, in confirmation of his assertion, to the principles of religion he was known to profess; principles, absolutely inconsistent with such language as Poltrot had put into his mouth. The charge of repeatedly exhorting him to the murder, he met by positive and direct denial; remarking, that far from admitting the horrible principle of assassination, he had, on various occasions, shown how abhorrent it was to his character.[2] He confessed, how-

[1] Beza, Hist. des Eglises.

[2] Brantôme says that Coligny more than once advertised the Duke, through his Duchess, of designs against his life.

ever, that since the massacre of Vassi, *sachant à n'en point douter*—that the Duke, and the Maréchal de St. André, had *attirés* certain persons to kill the Prince, himself, and his brother, he, when some one said he would kill the Duke in the midst of his camp, *ne l'avait point detourné*, but that he declared upon his life and honour it would never be found that he had instigated any one to such a proceeding—either by word, money, or promise. With respect to the money given to Poltrot, it had for its sole object the procuring information; but he added that he was "*bien recors*" that at their last interview Poltrot *s'avança jusqu' à lui dire* that it would be easy to kill the Seigneur de Guise, but that he, the Admiral, did not observe upon this discourse, "*d'autant qu'il l'estimoit pour chose du tout frivole, et sur sa vie et son honneur n'ouvrit jamais la bouche pour l'inciter à l'entreprendre.*"[1] He concluded by pointing out the inconsistencies of Poltrot's declarations, and represented the whole deposition as an effect of the malice of his enemies—more especially as they pointedly absolved the Prince de Condé, "*On sait le plan qu'on s'est traçé, de nous séparer l'un de l'autre.*"[2] His letter to Catherine was as follows:—

"MADAME,—Two days ago I saw the interrogatory of one James Poltrot, seigneur de Merey .... In which he confessed that he had wounded the Duke de Guise; and also charged me with having solicited, or rather pressed him so to do. And as the thing I should most dread in the world would be the execution of Poltrot before the truth is discovered, I humbly entreat your Majesty to command that he shall be safely kept. I have, however,

[1] Inasmuch as he looked upon it as mere idle talk; and upon his life and honour never opened his mouth to incite him to undertake it.

[2] Every body knows the project they have formed to alienate us from each other.

drawn up some articles,[1] in reply to such of his depositions as appeared to me to deserve an answer, which I send your Majesty by this trumpet; and I again declare it will be found that I never sought out either this man, or any other to perform such an act. On the contrary, I have always prevented such enterprises by every means in my power. And on this very account I have often had communication with the Card. de Lorraine, and Mad. de Guise, and even with your Majesty herself, who may remember how often I have opposed such things. With this reservation, be it said, that during the last five or six months I have no longer contested the matter against those who have testified such intentions, and that, because I have had information that certain persons, whom I will name in fit time,[2] had been practised upon to kill me, as your Majesty may remember I told her at our conference before Paris. But I may affirm with truth that I have never of myself sought, solicited, or practised upon any one for this purpose. . . . And, not to tire your Majesty with a longer letter, I humbly entreat, once more, that Poltrot may be well and carefully guarded to prove the truth—whatever it may be. For if he be carried to Paris, I should fear that those of the Parliament would have him executed, and thus leave me to lie under this calumny and imposture. . . . . Do not imagine, however, that what I say proceeds from any regret the death of the Duke of Guise occasions me. No; far from that, I esteem it the greatest blessing that could possibly have befallen this kingdom, the Church of God, and more especially myself, and all my house. If it shall so please your

[1] These articles are to be found at large in Beza, Hist. des Eglises. No one who reads them but must acquit the Admiral.

[2] Evidently De Guise and the Cardinal are here intended. See his answer to the interrogatory.

Majesty, it shall prove the means of tranquillising this kingdom—and all this army wish it to be so understood . . . . . as we informed you when we first heard of the death of the Sieur de Guise—*Madame, je prie Dieu vous donner en très parfaite santé très heureuse et longue vie.*"[1]

Perhaps the Admiral in his contempt of that insincerity which would outwardly bewail what he considered as an immense benefit, acted imprudently in so openly expressing his feelings of satisfaction upon the death of his great adversary; it served to irritate, and it served to mislead. The multitude were but too ready to believe he effected that at which he so openly rejoiced; forgetting

[1] Every one must judge for himself of the contents of these two papers. For myself I hesitate not to declare my firm persuasion, that they affirm the exact truth of the matter. The simplicity with which the facts which bear against himself are recorded, vouches for the fidelity of those in his favour; and when the firm and righteous character of this great man is considered, and how impossible his bitterest enemies found it ever to fix anything upon him beyond a vague accusation, I hope my readers in general will acquit him of the heaviest part of the charge as unhesitatingly as I do. But it must ever be regretted that Coligny had reason to confess what he did: and that he allowed the bright purity of his virtue and honour to be sullied by standing neuter with regard to crime, and lowering the high tone of his principles, by ceasing to interfere for the protection of his enemies against such attempts, because he knew them to be instigating others to the murder of himself and his friends.

In the view he appears to have taken of the subject, he seems to have been misled by the principle of reprisals in war, then almost universal; and to have thought that the unscrupulousness of his adversaries justified a remission upon his part of that honourable line of conduct he had till then adopted. In judging of individual characters, we shall be in danger of committing great injustice, if we do not compare them with the moral standard of their times. That Coligny had made great advances beyond that of his, cannot be doubted; and, in considering this his error, we must not forget the careless indifference to human life, and the unprincipled system of assassination which were so common in his day. The great importance of a high and pure standard of morality, will be a reflection which will suggest itself to every one upon this occasion. I hope I shall not be mistaken, and, while I would fain view with some indulgence this deviation from the narrow path of a great and much injured man, be thought in the least degree to palliate the evil principle from which it sprung. It does not appear that Coligny had the least expectation that an assassination would really take place.

how easy it would have been to cover a guilty conscience by a few set phrases of regret.

The charge preferred against the Duke de Guise was probably true, and might have been the cause why he with a magnanimous sense of justice, forbad his wife and son to avenge his death on the Admiral, to whom he certainly attributed it.

## CHAPTER XIV.

NEGOTIATIONS.—PEACE.—END OF FIRST TROUBLES.

THE grief excited by the death of the Duke de Guise was general and excessive among his party. Even Catherine, cold and calculating as she was, seems for a moment to have yielded to the sentiment. It may be taken as a proof of her sincerity, that she bestowed all his high offices upon his children—though in so doing she deeply offended the Constable, who expected, upon the death of Guise, at least to recover that office of Grand Master, of which at the death of Henry II. he had been so unhandsomely deprived. Catherine resolved, however, to give it to the Prince de Joinville, and, moreover, to have the Constable's own consent to the measure. Three days before the Duke died, she sent the following letter to Montmorency, which, as a specimen of her style and orthography, shall be inserted in the original; it is directed :—

"*A mon compère M. le Connêtable.*

"*Mon compère, je vous renvoy la condre, pour l'amour de ma cousine, Mad. de Guisé, qui m'a priée suivant la requeste que m'a faite son mari, de vouloyr donner la grant Mestire ha son fils, ce que ne vouleus faire, que premièrement ne vous le ai faist entendre d'autant que à ma requeste vous en desistes, m'asseurant que aimes trop M. de Guise pour ne trover bon que je fasse tout set que je pousé pour ses enfans—veu encore le mechant hacte que l'on n'a fait en son endroit, ayant blecé de la façon, et*

*an faysant service au Roi mon fils, s'il en avenet forteune y me semble bien rêsonable de reconestre en ses enfans, ses services, et cela sera aysample pour ceux qui serviront bien le Roy mon fils et qui havent bien servi ses pères et grands pères—je lui ai donné charge de vous en parler, je désire bien que ce soit sans temoyn set que je m'asseure que vous accordera Madame la Princesse pour l'amour de votre bonne commère et amye.* CATHERINE."

The Constable a prisoner, and in uncertainty whether the Duke might not yet recover, was in no situation to make difficulties; but the speedy death of Guise made him repent his acquiescence: and looking upon the whole affair as a species of fraud on his just expectations, he was greatly discontented; and after the peace was signed refused to appear at Court.

With regard to Poltrot, the Queen was far from acceding to the wish so earnestly expressed by the Admiral. Under the agonies of those horrid tortures with which the odious jurisprudence of those days visited an accused person, he varied perpetually in his declarations—at one time affirming, at others denying the privity of the Admiral.[1] As a kind of sacrifice to the manes of the great personage he had slain, or rather, I should say, to the pride of his relations, and the passions of the people of Paris—Poltrot was condemned to the punishment inflicted for high treason—"*d'être tenaillé, et tiré à quatre chevaux*"[2]—a sentence by historians often lightly written, and as lightly read, though it includes sufferings too

[1] Pour quant à M. L'Amiral, il varioit et tergiversoit fort, tant en ses interrogations qu'en son dire de la *gesne*, et de sa mort. *Gesne, gehenne*, old word for torture.

[2] A *lady*, her name has escaped us, it is recorded, died of horror after witnessing this execution. As a trait of the manners of the times be it noted, that her death from horror is mentioned as remarkable, not her presence at that most dreadful execution—he being drawn asunder by four horses.

appalling for description. Poltrot on his way to the dreadful scene retracted all his charges. In his last will, he however adhered to them, including D'Andelot with the rest—but his dying words, when past the influence of hope or fear, are better evidence than a paper which was probably written under an idea of the possibility of obtaining some mercy by thus charging the Admiral.

The day after this execution, the body of the Duke de Guise entered Paris, passing through on the way to Joinville, where, by his own command, it was to be interred. The people of Paris seized upon this opportunity to manifest, by the honours they lavished upon the insensible dead, the almost passionate idolatry with which they had adored him when living. At their own expense, they decreed almost royal obsequies—the pomp of which was rendered impressive by the unfeigned grief of the spectators.

After four and twenty heralds, according to the fashion of the times, clothed in tabards on which were embroidered the arms of Paris, had made proclamation in all the public places and great squares, the companies of the *milices bourgeoises*, headed by their captains, and every single man a black *bâton* in his hand, proceeded to the Convent of the Chartreux outside the walls of the city, where the body was lying, and taking it up, accompanied it to the Porte St. Jacques. Here it was met by the Chapter of the Church of Notre Dame, by the four mendicant orders, and by the clergy of almost every parish of the city. The funeral car was drawn by six horses, covered with black velvet stoles, each ornamented with an immense cross of white satin. Six Knights of the order marched on either side, preceded by 200 archers, each bearing a torch, and attended by an innumerable multitude carrying torches, supplied by private individuals.

Twenty-four banners of black taffetas embroidered with the Duke's arms, waving high over head, were followed by 400 of the principal bourgeois, covered with the long black cloaks of deep mourners. At the entrance of Notre Dame the procession was met by the Bishop of Paris, who presented a canopy of black velvet, which was borne over the body by the Canons, until it reached the choir—here it was laid on a bier of black velvet, while the heart was interred in the sanctuary. The next morning a solemn service for the dead was performed, at which the members of all the high courts assisted, and a funeral oration was pronounced. These ceremonies, often interrupted by the groans, cries, and tears of the innumerable spectators, having been completed, the body was replaced on the car and conducted with the same pomp to the Porte St. Antoine, by which it quitted the city. The banners alone were retained, and hung from the roof of Notre Dame, "to wave," says our author, "among the multitudes of those which Guise had conquered from the enemies of France."

Whatever desire the Duke de Guise might have professed for peace, one thing is certain—his death seemed to remove the only real obstacle to an accommodation; and the beneficial consequences anticipated by the Admiral immediately ensued. A cessation of arms was instantly agreed upon; and the Queen began her negotiations with an activity that gave at least an appearance of sincerity to her professions. She was, in fact, relieved by the negotiations from a situation of the greatest perplexity, for Coligny was rapidly advancing to the relief of Orleans; while the footing which the English were obtaining in France filled every heart with apprehension. Vainly had she sought in her distress for one capable of succeeding to the great general she had lost. "I was without a

man to command the army," says she to Gonnor; "and have been constrained to command it myself, till the Constable was at liberty, for though M. de Brissac is come, he is so ill he cannot leave his bed, so that never was poor creature in greater straits, or nearer beholding the ruin of her children than I."

The anxiety of the Queen for peace was seconded by that of every councillor about her; for, in spite of the formidable army lying before Orleans, the progress the Admiral had made in Normandy, and his speedy return, which was now anticipated—added to the presence of an English force in France—filled every one with the most serious apprehension.

The foreign faction, there is no doubt, however, were anxious the war should be continued. The Spanish Ambassador and the Nuncio opposed the pacification by every means in their power. "I have begged," writes the Nuncio, "the Ambassador of Florence, who is now here, to conform to what I have just said, and to tell the Queen that the Duke of Tuscany is not well satisfied to see the great sums which he has contributed to establish religion in the kingdom, prove of no effect; he has promised the more willingly to express this resentment, because he expects in this manner to give weight to his pretext for saving 20,000 crowns yet due."[1]

The Queen endeavoured to content her foreign friends by the most undisguised declarations of her intended duplicity and treachery. In another letter St. Croix says, "*Le Chev. de la Senne m'a dit que si on trouve les moyens de violer ensuite les promesses de cet accord, on ne les tiendroient point.*" In another—"*Si la Reine se conduit d'une manière conforme à ce qu'elle dit, on pourra mieux*

[1] Lettres de Saint Croix au la Borronée, p. 233.

*châtier ces gens là quand ils seront désarmés et dispersés: outre qu'il est expedient de les décréditer auprès des étrangers."*[1]

Observe the unblushing manner in which Catherine declares herself capable of this infamous treachery; the coolness with which the Nuncio writes of it to the Cardinal; remark that at this moment Catherine was promising in secret to Condé every possible advantage at the expense of the Catholics. On the part of Condé the desire for peace was at least equal to that expressed by the Queen; he was already weary of the war. The death of the great adversary to the Reformed religion at once quieted those disputes and jealousies which had made it almost impossible to rely upon any professions, and he had now reason to hope, that, as first Prince of the blood, he should reassume the influence and authority justly his due, and be able in time to thus obtain still further advantages for his party. The Cardinal de Bourbon writes to Gonnor,—"*J'ai parlé seul à un petit homme qui a si grand envie de voir un fin à ces troubles;*[2] that, accommodating himself to anything, he desires nothing more than to perform humble and faithful service to his master and the Queen his mother."

Catherine knew well how to improve such dispositions in the generous but imprudent Prince. Various conferences took place between the Constable and Condé, and between his Princess and the Queen, the result of which was, that without waiting for or consulting with Coligny—contrary to the wishes of the Reformed ministers, yet it must be confessed in obedience to those of his military officers, among whom was D'Andelot—the Prince,

[1] Lettres de St. Croix, p. 218, 227.

[2] I have been talking with a certain little man who is ardently desirous that an end should be put to these troubles.

upon the 19th March, signed a pacification, which was afterwards published under the title of the Edict of Amboise. The substance of its provisions was as follows :—[1]

"That all gentlemen having *haute justice*, ou fiefs de *haut vert* might exercise their religion in their houses, with their own subjects.

"That, in each bailliage or *sénéchaussée*, there should be one town assigned to the Hugonots wherein to exercise their religion, in addition to those towns in which the exercise subsisted before the 7th of March; but that the Hugonots should not be permitted to occupy the churches of the Catholics, who were to have their property restored, with all liberty of Divine service as before the wars.

"That, in the town of Paris, there should be no exercise of the *Reformed* religion (this title being for the first time acknowledged); but that the Hugonots might go there with all security, without being disturbed for matters of conscience.

"That all foreigners should leave France as soon as possible, and all the towns held by the Hugonots be restored to the King.

"All subjects of his Majesty to be restored, in property, estates, honours, and offices, without regard to judgments pronounced against the Hugonots since the time of Francis the Second, which judgments should be broken and annulled, *avec abolition octroyée*, to all who had taken arms.

"The Prince de Condé and all who had followed him to be reputed good and loyal subjects. No account to be given of monies belonging to his Majesty by them taken

[1] Mém. de Castlenau, additions of Le Laboureur; Beza, Hist. des Eglises.

in the war, nor of powders, ammunitions, or demolitions made by command of the Prince, *des siens ou de son aveu.*

"All prisoners on both sides to be set at liberty without ransom. Forbidden to all, of whatever religion, to utter insults or reproaches, on account of what had passed, under pain of *le hart:* or to make treaties with foreigners, or levy money on his Majesty's subjects.

"The Edict to be read and published in all the parliaments of the kingdom."

The privileges conveyed by this Edict, it will be observed, fell far short of those given by that of January; and it afforded little satisfaction to the Hugonot divines, who, it will be remarked, took a very leading part in the political, as well as civil, affairs of their community. Seventy-two of these, assembled at Orleans, drew up a remonstrance to the Prince, in which they represented that the Edict of January, being in strict conformity with the expressed desire of the delegates of the States-General of Orleans of 1560, and the highest authorities in the kingdom, could on no condition be abrogated.[1]

But the Prince was compelled to disregard this remonstrance. He despaired of obtaining the full provisions of the Edict of January, for he had found the prejudices of the Constable insurmountable. At the very first conference when Condé only alluded to it, the old man flew into a violent passion, declaring that as for that edict every one who had any hand in drawing it up "deserved to be flayed alive," *écorché vif.*

There were also other and less creditable reasons which rendered the Prince tractable. Short as had been his captivity, the Queen-Mother had already contrived to

[1] Beza, Hist. des Eglises.

entangle him in those disgraceful chains of love and pleasure, which, true to the character of his race, he made little scruple of openly wearing; and that generous spirit which violence, threats, imprisonment, and the near approach of death had been powerless to overcome, yielded to the insidious influence of those softer feelings, which, in their misdirection, have tarnished many a brighter name than his. "*Ce n'etoit que reproches contre le Prince,*" says D'Aubigné, "*accusé d'avoir hallené les filles de la Reine, comme il paroit depuis.*"

The Admiral, whose forces after his junction with the English, and with the indefatigable Montgomery, who brought up large reinforcements, amounted to 4,000 cavalry and 7,000 infantry, was pressing onwards to the relief of Orleans, when a courier from Condé met him, bringing a report of the progress of the negotiations. Anxious to retard what would be so disadvantageous under the present favourable aspect of his affairs, he hurried forward with his cavalry, but he reached Orleans too late—the treaty had been signed five days before his arrival; and Condé, who considered his honour engaged to maintain it, was deaf to all the remonstrances of Coligny. He, whose mind was intent upon one object—the maintenance of that Reform in religion to which he was so earnestly devoted—vainly pointed out the magnitude of those sacrifices that had been made. In an assembly, held the morning after his arrival, he reproached the Prince with having destroyed more churches by one stroke of his pen, than his enemies could have ruined by a ten years' war. "Because," he said, "in reducing the number of the churches to one in each bailliage, the poor people who had fought as bravely as the nobility, were left exposed to the danger either of falling once more into the Roman superstitions, or of gradually forgetting all religion what-

soever. Could it be expected that poor labourers, or industrious artisans, women or old men, would make weekly journeys of twelve or fifteen leagues to assist at Divine service? And what consistency or form could the meetings take that were to be allowed in the castles of the Seigneurs, dependent as they would be upon the caprice of individuals? If the fief changed its master, what was to become of the church?"

To these remarks the Prince could only oppose the necessity of saving Orleans, and his good hopes for the future. In a private conference, however, he confided to the Admiral the favourable dispositions maintained in secret by the Queen-Mother towards the Churches, and her promise to place him, Condé, at the head of the Council, and nominate him Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. He calculated, that, once elevated to these posts, he should have influence to modify the Edict; and shewed that it was absolutely necessary to yield several points in order to ensure its registration. Even in its present form,—such was the spirit of the court of law,—this point was carried with the utmost difficulty. The Parliament of Paris made the most obstinate resistance to the registry; and Catherine, in a letter to Gonnor, thus expresses her urgency and her anxiety upon this subject:—"It must be done. Tell *Messieurs de la Cour* that this is no common affair. They may believe, that, without extreme necessity, we should not have granted all that is in the letter (Edict). But no more difficulty must be made, for we have published it here to-day. Assure them that the household of the King and the Court are exempted. I pray you, M. de Gonnor to *tell the truth* to these gentlemen, for they will be the ruin of us, *Reformez les prêcheurs*,[1] *par ce que j'entende ils sont de par trop insolents.*"

[1] Meaning the Catholic preachers in Paris.

The Chancellor, De l'Hôpital, who, like Falkland in our own civil wars, breathed only peace, seconded the exertions of the Queen. He gave, in the name of the Princess, a pension to the first President, Christophe de Thou; he promised to grant some disputed arrears of salaries to the Councillors; he wrote letters of remonstrance and persuasion to the different members of the Court; but in spite of these efforts, and those of Losses and Gonnor, who explained to the assembly the state of the kingdom —the danger from the English on one side, from the Germans on the other, the total ruin of the finances and general weakness of the government—such were the invincible prejudices of this body, that the only condition it could be brought to consent to, was, that if a Prince of the blood came down in person to command the registry, they would suffer it to take place "*en silence.*"

Upon this the Duke de Montpensier was dispatched for the purpose, and the point was thus at length carried. The satisfaction of the Queen was excessive, and is thus expressed to Gonnor, after bidding him inform the magistrates *comme elle étoit contente.* "Tell them," adds she, in a postscript in her own hand writing, "whatever necessity my son may be in, *they shall be paid.*"

The Parliaments throughout the kingdom shewed a similar disposition to dispute the authority of the government, when opposed to their particular prejudices. The Parliaments of Provence and Toulouse would only consent to register the Edict in a mutilated form; and the states of Dijon addressed a remonstrance to the Queen, which was a sort of general declaration against Reform and toleration. It seems difficult to account for this determined resistance of the higher courts to the measure, at a time when it was known that the majority of the more enlightened classes were secret favourers of the Reformation.

But the ties which bind society together were rapidly giving way under the influence of these fatal divisions; and the authority of that government, whose oppression and cruelty had driven the Hugonots into open rebellion, was now almost as openly defied by the Catholics in support of whose claims such acts of injustice and barbarity had been committed,—such seas of blood and tears been shed. Every one has heard of "The League," that erection of a party resolved to coerce the kingdom and the crown; but how early that spirit of insubordination against their rulers, and tyranny against their fellow-countrymen, from which it arose, began to be manifested is not, perhaps, so well known: or how soon these proceedings took rise among those who, affecting to resist insubordination and maintain the king's authority, made no scruple by the most violent and seditious means to enslave it.[1] The first instance of mutual associations on the part of the Catholics occurred in Languedoc so early as this year, 1563.

It was about the end of February that the Court of Parliament of Toulouse, the Capitouls, the Cardinal d'Armagnac, and Montluc, entered into a mutual agreement to raise an army to be sent into Languedoc. It does not, however, appear that there was any great proof of insubordination in this; it being, as is well known, the then custom for private individuals to levy forces at their own expense, and lead them to the assistance of their sovereign. Montluc was chosen to command this army; "and when I had accepted the charge," says he, "we set

[1] Doubtless one original cause of these associations was the distrust entertained by the Catholics of the Queen-Mother. To her weakness and duplicity many of the ensuing evils are to be attributed. Nevertheless, it is most true that any government which adopts a party gives itself a tyrant.

down in writing what was necessary."[1] This covenant was entitled *Traité d'association faite par l'avis et conseil des reverends pères Mess. Georges d'Armagnac Lieutenant de Roi, et Mess. Laurens, Card. de Strozzi ... le Seigneur de Montluc, Chev. de l'Ordre, capitaine de* 50 *hommes, les seigneurs de Terrides Négrepélisse, &c.....* 2*d. Mars*, 1563.

The intentions of the subcribers are thus stated :—

"To satisfy a Christian duty—for the support of the Roman Church, for the service of the King and his people, and to resist the enemies and rebels who have risen, or may in future rise against his Majesty ; to extirpate and drive from the kingdom all such rebels .... and for other good and just considerations touching the public peace,—it is useful and expedient to order that a confederation and association shall be made between the ecclesiastical order, the noblesse, and the Tiers État, inhabitants of towns, dioceses, &c. in the provinces of Languedoc and Guyenne, under the good pleasure of the King and the said Court : which association shall be kept and observed according to its form by the aforesaid confederates, and by those who shall in future join them, under pain of being declared rebels, and disobedient to his Majesty." .... Then follow divers directions for receiving oaths—making general levies, appointing officers, and providing arms—enjoining at the same time the strictest attention to military discipline, providing, that a report of the force should be sent to the King's lieutenants in Languedoc, Guyenne, Toulouse and Albigeois. This association it is customary for French historians to call the *germ* of the League. But it is far from equalling in its provisions the spirit of independence which will be

[1] Mém. de Montluc.

found in the league formed by Tavannes, for Burgundy, four years later, 1567.

Thus terminated the first troubles, "by an Edict," says Castlenau, "with which the necessity of the times forced the Catholics to comply, however much in secret they might murmur; for one year of cruel war had reduced the affairs of France to such a pitch that it was almost impossible she could have survived its continuance. For agriculture, that most necessary thing to maintain the body of a republic, and which had formerly been better exercised in France than in any other kingdom,—she being like the fertile garden of the world,—was abandoned; multitudes of towns and villages sacked, pillaged, and burnt, were deserted, and the poor labourers driven from their homes—despoiled of their furniture and cattle, robbed to-day by one party, to-morrow by another,—fled like wild beasts, leaving all they had to the mercy of those who were without mercy.

"And as to commerce—which is great in this kingdom, it, as well as the mechanical arts, was quite given up; the nobility were divided, the ecclesiastical order oppressed—no one was secure of his property or his life—and as for justice—the foundation of kingdoms and republics and all human society—it could not be administered, seeing that where there is question of force or violence the authority of the magistrate is at an end. In short, the civil wars were an inexhaustible source of . . . . . all other unimaginable and enormous vices, against which there was neither curb nor punishment: and the worst was, that this very war, undertaken for religion, annihilated religion and piety. Society, like a decayed body, produced a swarm of vermin in the pestilence of an infinity of Atheists. The churches were sacked, the monasteries destroyed, the professors of religion driven

art, and what it had taken four hundred years to erect was miserably overthrown in a day."[1]

Such is the picture drawn by Castlenau, but the impression it leaves upon the mind is unjust. The disorders which desolated the kingdom would here seem to be attributed indifferently, to either party; but he who has the patience to follow the detail of oppression and cruelty displayed in the pathetic, but most candid pages of Beza, will learn with a sort of sad surprise—how unprovoked was the attack, how long the patience of the defence, how barbarous and brutal the outrages committed by the Catholics, how few the reprisals on the part of the Reformed, and these, uniformly repressed by the ministers of their religion, whenever they occurred.

[1] Mém. de Castlenau, additions of Le Laboureur.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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